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A  
PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL  
H I S T O R Y  
OF THE  
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE  
OF THE  
E U R O P E A N S  
IN THE  
EAST AND WEST INDIES.

Translated from the French of the

A B B É R A Y N A L,

By J. JUSTAMOND, M. A.

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THE THIRD EDITION:  
REVISED AND CORRECTED.  
WITH MAPS ADAPTED TO THE WORK,  
AND A COPIOUS INDEX.

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VOLUME THE FIFTH.

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M D C C L X X V I I .

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Y O R T O B I H

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

OFFICE OF THE ADJUTANT GENERAL

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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WASHINGTON, D. C.

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE

ATTENTION: ADJUTANT GENERAL

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE

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ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE

ATTENTION: ADJUTANT GENERAL

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# C O N T E N T S

OF THE

## FIFTH VOLUME.

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GOVERNMENT

OF THE

UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT

OF THE INTERIOR  
BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

WATER RESOURCES

Division of Water Conservation  
and Irrigation

REPORT OF THE  
COMMISSIONER OF THE BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

ON THE  
PROGRESS OF THE BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

FOR THE YEAR 1904

WASHINGTON  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
1905

A  
PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL  
H I S T O R Y  
OF THE  
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE  
OF THE  
E U R O P E A N S  
IN THE  
E A S T A N D W E S T I N D I E S.

---

B O O K X V I.

*Account of the French Settlements in North-America,  
continued.*

**T**HE war carried on for the Spanish succession, had raised a ferment in the four quarters of the world, which for the two last centuries have felt the effects of that restless spirit with which Europe hath been agitated. All kingdoms were shaken by the contests excited on account of one, which under the dominion of Charles V. had struck terror into them all. The influence of a house whose sovereignty extended over five or six states, had raised the Spanish nation to a pitch of greatness which could not but be extremely flattering to her. At the same time another house whose power was

B O O K  
XVI.

BOOK still superior, as its dominions were more connect-  
XVI. ed together, was ambitious of giving the law to  
that haughty nation. The names of Austria and Bourbon, which had been rivals for two hundred years, were now exerting their last efforts to acquire a superiority, which should no longer be considered as precarious or doubtful between them. The point of contest was, which should have the greatest number of crowns, to boast the possession of. Europe, divided between the claims of the two houses, which were not altogether groundless, was inclined to allow them to extend their branches, but would not permit that several crowns should center in one house, as they formerly did. Every power took up arms to disperse or divide a vast inheritance; and resolved to dismember it, rather than suffer it to be attached to one, which, with this additional weight of strength, must infallibly destroy the balance of all the rest. As the war was supported by each party with numerous forces and great skill, with warlike people and experienced generals, it continued a long time: it desolated the countries it should have succoured, and even ruined nations that had no concern in it. Victory, which should have determined the contest, was so variable, that it served only to increase the general flame. The same troops that were successful in one country, were defeated in another. The people who conquered by sea, were worsted on land. The news of the loss of a fleet and the gaining of a battle arrived at the same time. Success



cess alternately favoured each party, and by this BOOK  
 inconstancy served only to complete the mutual de- XVI.  
 struction of both. At length, when the blood and  
 treasure of the several states were exhausted, and  
 after a series of calamities and expences that had  
 lasted near twelve years, the people who had pro-  
 fited by their misfortunes, and were weakened by  
 their contests, were anxious of recovering the losses  
 they had sustained. They endeavoured to find in  
 the new world the means of peopling and re esta-  
 blishing the old. France first turned her views  
 towards North-America, to which she was invited  
 by the similarity of soil and climate, and the island  
 of Cape-Breton became immediately the object of  
 her attention.

THE English considered this possession as an  
 equivalent for all that the French had lost by the  
 treaty of Utrecht, and not being entirely recon-  
 ciled to them, strongly opposed their being allow-  
 ed to people and fortify it. They saw no other  
 method of excluding them from the cod-fishery,  
 and making the entrance into Canada difficult for  
 their ships. The moderation of queen Anne, or,  
 perhaps, the corruption of her ministers, prevent-  
 ed France from being exposed to this fresh mortifi-  
 cation: and she was authorized to make what  
 alterations she thought proper at Cape-Breton.

The  
 French to  
 recover  
 their former  
 losses  
 people and  
 fortify  
 Cape-Bre-  
 ton; and  
 establish  
 consider-  
 able fishe-  
 ries there.

THIS island is situated at the entrance of the  
 gulph of St. Lawrence, between the 45th and 47th  
 degrees of north latitude. Newfoundland lies to  
 the east, on the same gulph, and is only 15 or

## HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

BOOK 16 leagues distant from it; and to the west, Acadia  
 XVI. is only separated from the island by a streight, not  
 more than three or four leagues over. Cape-Breton thus situated between the territories ceded to its enemies, threatened their possessions, while it protected those of France. The island measures about 36 leagues in length, and 22 in its greatest breadth. It is surrounded with little sharp-pointed rocks, separated from each other by the waves, above which some of their tops are visible. All its harbours open to the east, turning towards the south. On the other parts of the coast there are but a few anchoring places for small vessels, in creeks, or between islets. Except in the hilly parts, the surface of the country has but little solidity, being every where covered with a light moss and with water. The dampness of the soil is exhaled in fogs, without rendering the air unwholesome. In other respects, the climate is very cold, owing either to the prodigious quantity of lakes, which cover above half the island, and remain frozen a long time, or to the number of forests, that totally intercept the rays of the sun; the effect of which is besides decreased by perpetual clouds.

THOUGH some fishermen had long resorted to Cape-Breton every summer, not more than twenty or thirty had ever fixed there. The French who took possession of it in August 1713, were properly the first inhabitants. They changed its name into that of Isle Royale, and fixed upon  
 fort



fort Dauphin for their principal settlement. This B O O K  
 harbour was two leagues in circumference. The XVI.  
 ships which came to the very shore, were sheltered  
 from winds. Forests affording oak sufficient to  
 build and fortify a large city, were near at hand,  
 the ground appeared less barren than in other  
 parts, and the fishery was more plentiful. This  
 harbour might have been made impregnable at a  
 trifling expence, but the difficulty of approaching  
 it, (a circumstance that had at first made a stronger  
 impression than the advantages resulting from it)  
 occasioned it to be abandoned after great labour  
 had been bestowed upon it. They then turned  
 their views to Louisbourg, the access to which was  
 easier, and convenience was thus preferred to se-  
 curity.

THE harbour of Louisbourg, situated on the  
 eastern coast of the island, is at least a league in  
 depth, and above quarter of a league broad in  
 the narrowest part. Its bottom is good, the  
 soundings are usually from six to ten fathom, and  
 it is easy to tack about in it either to sail in or out  
 even in bad weather. It includes a small gulph  
 very commodious for refitting ships of all sizes,  
 which may even winter there, with proper pre-  
 cautions. The only inconvenience attending this  
 excellent harbour is, that it is frozen up from No-  
 vember till May, and frequently continues so till  
 June. The entrance, which is naturally narrow,  
 is also guarded by Goat island; the cannon of  
 which playing upon a level with the surface of

BOOK XVI. the water, would sink ships of any size, that should attempt to force the passage. The batteries, one of thirty-six, the other of twelve twenty-four pounders, erected on the two opposite shores, would support and cross this formidable fire.

THE town is built on a neck of land that runs into the sea, and is about half a league in circuit; the streets are broad and regular. Almost all the houses are made of wood. Those that are of stone, were constructed at the expence of the government, and are destined for the reception of the troops. A number of wharfs have been erected, that project a considerable way into the harbour, and are extremely convenient for loading and unloading the ships.

THE fortification of Louisbourg was only begun in 1720. This undertaking was executed upon very good plans, and is supplied with all the works that can render a place formidable. A space of about a hundred toises only, was left without ramparts on the side next the sea, which was thought sufficiently defended by its situation. It was closed only with a simple dyke. The sea was so shallow in this place, that it made a kind of narrow canal, inaccessible from the number of its reefs to any shipping whatever. The fire from the side bastions completely secured this spot from any attack.

THE necessity of bringing stone from Europe, and other materials proper for these great works, sometimes retarded their progress, but never made them be discontinued. More than thirty millions

lions\* were expended upon them. This was not B O O K thought too great a sum for the support of the XVI. fisheries, for securing the communication between France and Canada, and for obtaining a security or retreat to ships in time of war coming from the southern islands. Nature and sound policy required that the riches of the south should be protected by the strength of the north.

IN the year 1714, some fishermen, who till then had lived in Newfoundland, settled in this island. It was expected that their number would soon have been increased by the Acadians, who were at liberty, from the treaties that had been granted them, to remove with all their effects, and even to dispose of their estates; but these hopes were disappointed. The Acadians chose rather to retain their possessions under the dominion of England, than to give them up for any precarious advantage they might derive from their attachment to France. Their place was supplied by some distressed adventurers from Europe, who came over from time to time to Cape-Breton, and the inhabitants of the colony gradually increased to the number of four thousand. They were settled at Louisbourg, Fort Dauphin, Port Toulouse, Nericka, and on all the coasts where they found a proper beach for drying the cod.

THE inhabitants never applied themselves to agriculture, the soil being unfit for it. They have often attempted to sow corn, but it seldom came to maturity; and when it did thrive so much



BOOK as to be worth reaping, it had degenerated so con-  
 XVI. siderably, that it was not fit for seed for the next  
 harvest. They have only continued to plant a few  
 pot-herbs that are tolerably well tasted, but must  
 be renewed every year from abroad. The poor-  
 ness and scarcity of pastures has likewise prevented  
 the increase of cattle. In a word, the soil of  
 Cape-Breton seemed calculated to invite none but  
 fishermen and soldiers.

THOUGH the island was entirely covered with  
 forests before it was inhabited, its wood has scarce  
 ever been an object of trade. A great quantity,  
 however, of soft wood was found there fit for  
 firing, and some that might be used for timber ;  
 but the oak has always been very scarce, and the  
 fir never yielded much resin.

THE peltry trade was a very inconsiderable ob-  
 ject. It consisted only in the skins of a few lynxes  
 elks, musk rats, wild cats, bears, otters, and foxes,  
 both of a red and silver grey colour. Some of  
 these were procured from a colony of Mickmac  
 Indians who had settled on the island with the  
 French, and never could raise more than sixty  
 men able to bear arms. The rest came from St.  
 John's, or the neighbouring continent.

GREATER advantages might possibly have been  
 derived from the coal mines which abound in the  
 island. They lie in a horizontal direction, and  
 being no more than six or eight feet below the  
 surface, may be worked without digging deep, or  
 draining off the waters. Notwithstanding the  
 pro-

prodigious demand for this coal from New Eng- B O O K  
 land, from the year 1745 to the year 1749, these XVI.  
 mines would, probably, have been forsaken; had  
 not the ships which were sent out to the French  
 islands wanted ballast. In one of these mines a  
 fire has been kindled, which could never be ex-  
 tinguished, and will one day probably occasion  
 some extraordinary explosion. If the carelessness  
 of one man could by a single spark kindle a fire,  
 which for several years past has been constantly  
 devouring the bowels of the earth, how little ex-  
 ertion does nature require to produce a volcano,  
 able to consume a whole country with its inhabi-  
 tants!

THE whole industry of the colony has constant-  
 ly been exerted in the cod fishery. The less weal-  
 thy inhabitants employed yearly two hundred boats  
 in this fishery, and the richest fifty or sixty vessels  
 from thirty to fifty tons burden. The small craft  
 always kept within four or five leagues of the  
 coast, and returned at night with their fish, which  
 being immediately cured, was always in the utmost  
 degree of perfection it was capable of. The  
 larger smacks went to fish further from shore,  
 kept their cargo for several days, and as the cod  
 was apt to be too salt, it was less valuable. But  
 this inconvenience was compensated by the advan-  
 tage it gave them of pursuing the fish, when the  
 want of food compelled it to leave the island;  
 and by the facility of carrying during the autumn  
 the



B O O K the produce of their labours to the southern islands,  
 XVI. or even to France.

BESIDES the fishermen settled on the island, others came every year from France to dry their fish, either in the habitations, in consequence of an agreement made with the owners, or upon the beach, which was always reserved for their use.

THE mother country regularly sent them ships laden with provisions, liquors, wearing apparel, household goods, and all things necessary for the inhabitants of the colony. The largest of these ships, having no other concern but this trade, returned to Europe as soon as they had bartered their lading for cod. Those from fifty to a hundred tons burden, after having landed their little cargo, went a fishing themselves, and did not return till the season was over.

THE people of Cape-Breton did not send all their fish to Europe. They sent part of it to the French southern islands, on board twenty or twenty-five ships, from seventy to a hundred and forty tons burden. Besides the cod, which made at least half their cargo, they exported to the other colonies, timber, planks, thin oak boards, salted salmon and mackarel, train oil, and sea coal. All these were paid for in sugar and coffee, but chiefly in rum and molasses.

THE island could not consume all these commodities. Canada took off but a small part of the overplus; it was chiefly bought by the people of New-England, who gave in exchange fruits, vegetables,

getables, wood, brick and cattle. This trade of BOOK exchange was allowed, but a smuggling trade was XVI. added to it, consisting of flour, and a considerable quantity of salt fish.

NOTWITHSTANDING this circulation, which was all carried on at Louisbourg, most of the colonists were extremely poor. This was owing to the dependence their indigence had subjected them to on their first arrival. Unable to procure the necessary implements for the fishery, they had borrowed some at an excessive interest. Even those who were not at first reduced to this necessity, were soon obliged to submit to the hard terms of borrowing. The dearness of salt and provisions, together with the ill success of their fishery, soon compelled them to it, and they were inevitably ruined by being obliged to pay twenty or five and twenty *per cent.* a year for every thing they borrowed. It is one of the many hardships attending an equality of stations in life, that those born to a fortune can seldom acquire one but by violence or fraud, the means by which the most opulent families have amassed their riches. Even commerce can scarce exempt men from these hardships by industry and assiduous labour. But all the French colonies of New France were not from their first establishment destined to such distress.

THE island of St. John, more favourably situated, has been more favourable to its inhabitants. It lies further up the gulph of St. Lawrence, is twenty-two leagues long, and not much above a league

Settlement  
of the  
French in  
the island  
of St.  
John.

BOOK league at its greatest breadth. It bends in the  
 XVI. form of a crescent, both ends terminating in a  
 sharp point. Though the right of this island had  
 never been disputed with France, yet she seemed  
 to pay no regard to it till the peace of Utrecht.  
 The loss of Acadia and Newfoundland drew their  
 attention to this small remaining spot, and the go-  
 vernment began to inquire what use could be made  
 of it.

It appeared that the winters were long there, the cold extreme, with abundance of snow, and prodigious quantities of insects; but that these defects were compensated by a healthy coast, a good sea-port, and commodious harbours. The country was flat, enriched with fine pastures, watered by an infinite number of rivulets and springs; the soil exceedingly diversified, and fit for the culture of every kind of grain. There was plenty of game, and multitudes of wild beasts; amazing shoals of fish of all sorts; and a greater number of savage inhabitants than were found on any other of the islands. This circumstance alone was a proof how much it was superior to the rest.

THE report that was spread of this in France, gave rise to a company in 1719, which formed the design both of clearing this fertile island, and of establishing a great cod fishery there. Unfortunately, interest, which had brought the adventurers together, set them at variance again, before they began to execute the plan they had projected. St. John was again forgotten, when the Acadians began



began to remove to that island in 1749. In pro- BOOK  
 cess of time they increased to the number of 3154. XVI.  
 As they were for the most part husbandmen, and }  
 particularly accustom'd to the breeding of cattle,  
 the government thought proper to confine them  
 to this employment; and the cod fishery was only  
 allowed to be carried on, by those who settled at  
 Tracadia, and St. Peter.

PROHIBITIONS and monopolies, while they are  
 a restraint upon industry, are equally detrimental  
 to the labours they permit, and to those they for-  
 bid. Though the island of St. John does not  
 afford a sufficient extent of sea shore, fit for dry-  
 ing the vast quantities of cod that come in shoals  
 to the coasts, and though the fish is too large to  
 be easily dried, yet it was incumbent upon a power  
 whose fisheries are not sufficient for the consump-  
 tion of its own subjects, to encourage this kind of  
 employment. If there were too few drying places  
 for the quantity that could be caught, that which  
 is called green cod might easily have been pre-  
 pared, which alone would have made a valuable  
 branch of commerce.

By confining the inhabitants of St. John to agri-  
 culture, they were deprived of all resource in those  
 unfortunate seasons that happen frequently on the  
 island, when the crops are devoured by the field  
 mice and grasshoppers. The exchanges which  
 the mother country could and ought to have made  
 with her colony, were reduced to nothing. Last-  
 ly, in attempting to favour agriculture, its pro-  
 gress

BOOK gress was obstructed, by laying the inhabitants  
 XVI. under an impossibility of procuring the necessary  
 articles for extending it.

ONLY one or two small vessels came annually to the island from Europe, and landed at Port La Joie, where they were supplied with all they wanted from Louisbourg, and paid for it in wheat, barley, oats, pulse, black cattle and sheep. A party of fifty men served rather to regulate their police, than to defend them. Their commanding officer was dependent on Cape-Breton, which was itself under the controul of the governor of Canada. The command of this last officer extended to a great distance, over a vast continent, the richest part of which was Louisiana.

Discovery  
 of the Missis-  
 sippi by  
 the French.

THIS province, which the Spaniards formerly comprehended under the name of Florida, was not discovered by the French till the year 1673. They were told by the savages, that to the west of Canada, there was a great river, which flowed neither to the north nor to the east, and they concluded that it must therefore empty itself into the gulph of Mexico, if its course were southward, or into the south sea, if it were westward. The communication with these two seas was of such importance, as to deserve some inquiry. This undertaking was committed to Joliet, an inhabitant of Quebec, a man of sense and experience, and to the Jesuit Marquette, whose virtues were respected by all the nations inhabiting that continent.

THESE



THESE two men, whose intentions were equally B O O K honest, always lived in the most friendly intimacy XVI. with each other. They went together from the lake Michigan, entered the river of the Foxes, which empties itself into that lake, and went up almost to the head of the river, notwithstanding the currents which render that navigation difficult. After some days march, they again embarked on the river Ouisconsing, and keeping always westward, came to the Mississippi, and sailed down that river as far as the Akansas, about the 33d degree of latitude. Their zeal would have carried them further, but they were in want of provisions. It would have been imprudent to have ventured too far, with only three or four men, in an unknown country, and moreover, as they were perfectly convinced that the river discharged itself in the gulph of Mexico, they returned to Canada. Upon entering the river of the Illinois, they found the people pretty numerous, and inclined to a friendly intercourse with the French nation. Without concealing or exaggerating any particular, they communicated to the chief man of the colony all the information they had procured.

AMONG the inhabitants of new France at that time, was a Norman, named La Salle, who was equally desirous of making a great fortune, and of establishing a brilliant reputation. This man had spent his younger years among the Jesuits, where he had contracted that activity, enthusiasm, and firmness, which those fathers so well know  
how

BOOK XVI. how to instil into their disciples, when they meet with young men of quick parts, with whom they are fond of recruiting their order. La Salle, who was a bold and enterprising man, fond of availing himself of every opportunity to distinguish himself, and anxious even to seek out such opportunities, perceived that the new governor of Canada neglected to pursue the discovery that had been made. He embarked for Europe, went to the court of Versailles, was listened to, almost even with admiration, at a time when both the prince and the people were inspired with a passion for great actions. He returned loaded with favours, and with orders to complete what had been so fortunately begun.

BUT in order to insure success to his scheme, he had the prudence to proceed with the greatest caution. The distance was considerable from the further French settlements in Canada to the banks of the river that was to be the object of inquiry. It was a matter of prudence to secure this tract. His first step, therefore, was to erect several posts, which took up more time than he imagined, the works being often interrupted by unforeseen incidents. When time and caution had disposed every thing to his wishes, he sailed down the Mississippi in 1682, and found that it ran into the gulph of Mexico, as had been before conjectured.

THIS information was of great consequence. La Salle, who well knew what remained to be done, hastened back to Quebec, and went over to France,

to propose the discovery of the Mississippi by sea, and the establishment of a colony, which could not fail of being a very important one. His scheme was approved, and he obtained four ships of different rates, with about 150 men. He missed his point by steering too far westward, and on the 10th of January, 1685, found himself in the bay of St. Barnard, distant a hundred leagues from the Mississippi. This error might have been rectified; but La Salle, who was a haughty and unsociable temper, had quarrelled with the commander of his little fleet, and being unwilling to owe any obligation to him, he dismissed him. Being besides prepossessed with the idea that the river he had entered must certainly be an arm of the great one, he was commissioned to reconnoitre, he imagined he could execute the design he had been sent upon without any other assistance: but he was soon undeceived. He neglected the object of his expedition. Instead of looking for guides among the savages, who would have directed him to the place of his destination, he chose to go nearer the Spaniards, and inform himself of the famous mines of St. Barbe. He was wholly taken up with this absurd project, when he was massacred by some of his companions, who could no longer bear with the harshness of his character, his obstinacy and haughtiness.

THE death of La Salle soon occasioned the rest of his company to disperse. The villains who had murdered him, fell by each other's hand. Several



BOOK several incorporated with the natives. Many perished by hunger and fatigue. The Spaniards of New Mexico, alarmed at the report of this undertaking, had advanced up the country in order to oppose it, took some of these adventurers, and sent them to work in the mines, where they perished. Those who had shut themselves up in the little fort which had been erected, fell into the hands of the savages. Only seven escaped, who embarked on the Mississippi, which had at last been discovered by land, and came to Canada. These distresses soon made the French lose sight of Louisiana.

THE attention of the ministry was again awakened in 1697, by Yberville, a gentleman of Canada, who had distinguished himself by some very bold and fortunate attempts at Hudson's bay, in Acadia and Newfoundland. He was sent out from Rochfort with two ships, and entered the Mississippi on the 2d of July 1669. He sailed up the river high enough to take a full view of the beauty and fertility of its banks. He contented himself, however, with erecting a small fort, which did not long continue, and proceeded to another spot to settle his colony, chiefly consisting of Canadians.

The French little in the country that is watered by the Mississippi, and call it Louisiana.

BETWEEN the mouth of the Mississippi and Pensacola, a settlement newly erected by the Spaniards in Florida, is a coast of about forty leagues in extent. It is every where so flat, that trading ships cannot come within four leagues of the shore, or even the lightest brigs within two leagues.

leagues. The soil, which is entirely sandy, is B O O K  
 equally unfit for agriculture and the breeding of XVI.  
 cattle. Nothing grows there but a few cedars  
 and fir trees. The climate is exceedingly hot,  
 when the rays of the sun shine upon these sands,  
 that in some seasons the heat would be insupport-  
 able, were it not for a light breeze, which springs  
 up regularly at nine or ten in the morning, and  
 never falls but in the evening. In this large tract,  
 there is a place called Biloxi, from the name of a  
 savage nation, that formerly settled there. This  
 situation, the most barren and most inconvenient  
 upon the whole coast, was made choice of for the  
 residence of the few men Yberville had brought  
 thither, and who had been allured by the most  
 sanguine expectations.

Two years after a new colony arrived, and set-  
 tled thirteen leagues to the east of Biloxi, not far  
 from Pensacola. The banks of the Mobile, which  
 though a river of some extent is no where navi-  
 gable but for boats, were judged to be worth in-  
 habiting. The poorness of the grounds, was not  
 thought a sufficient objection. It was determined  
 that the connections which might be formed with  
 the Spaniards and neighbouring Indians, would  
 compensate all these disadvantages. An island  
 situated opposite to the Mobile, at the distance of  
 four leagues, offered a harbour, which might be  
 considered as the sea port of the new colony. It  
 was named the isle of Dauphin. It was very con-  
 venient for unloading the French goods, which be-



B O O K fore it had been necessary to send ashore in boats.

XVI. This island, though a barren one, was soon peopled, and became the chief settlement of the colony; till the sands, by which it had been originally formed, were heaped up to such a degree by the winds in 1717, as to deprive it of the only advantage that had given it some kind of reputation.

It could not reasonably be expected that a colony fixed upon such a territory should make any progress. The death of Yberville at sea, who perished gloriously before the Havannah in 1702, in the service of his country, put an end to the small remaining hopes of the colonists. France was so deeply engaged in an unhappy war, that no assistance could be expected from her. The colonists thought themselves totally forsaken, and those who entertained some hopes of finding a settlement in another place, hastened to go in search of it. The few whom necessity compelled to stay behind, subsisted upon vegetables, or lived by excursions among the Indians. The colony was reduced to twenty-eight wretched families, when Crosat petitioned for and obtained the exclusive trade of Louisiana in 1712.

CROSAT was one of those men born for great enterprises. He possessed a superiority of talents and sentiments which enabled him to undertake the greatest actions, and condescend to the least for the service of the state, and wished to derive all his fame from the glory of his country. The

soil of Louisiana was not the object of this active genius. He could not be ignorant of its barrenness, nor did it ever appear that he had any idea of attempting to improve it. His intention was to open communications both by land and sea with old and new Mexico, to pour in all kinds of merchandise into these parts, and to draw from thence a great quantity of piastres. The place he had asked for, appeared to him to be the natural and necessary mart for his vast operations; and all the steps taken by his agents were regulated upon this noble plan. But being undeceived by several unsuccessful attempts, he relinquished his scheme, and in 1717, resigned his privilege to a company whose success astonished the world.

THIS company was formed by Law, that celebrated Scotchman, of whom no settled judgment could be formed at the time he appeared, but whose name now stands between the crowd of mere adventurers and the short list of great men. This daring genius had made it his business from his infancy to observe attentively the several powers of Europe, to examine their several springs, and to calculate the strength of each. He was singularly struck with the confusion into which the ambition of Lewis XIV. had thrown the kingdom of France. To remedy this, was as he imagined, a task worthy of him, and he flattered himself he could accomplish it. The greatness of his plan could not fail of recommending it to the regent, who held the reins of government, since the de-

BOOK

XVI.

Louisiana becomes very famous in the time of Laws system.

BOOK XVI. } mise of the monarch had restored peace to Europe. The scheme was, by speedily paying off the national debt, to clear the public revenue of the enormous interests which absorbed it. The introduction of paper credit could alone effect this revolution, and the exigencies of the times seemed absolutely to require it. The public creditors came into this new scheme the more readily, as they knew they might at any time change these notes for shares in the company. On the other hand, there was no doubt that the company would be able to answer its several engagements; since, independent of the produce of the taxes which was to center in their hands, as being a company of finance, they had procured a new channel as a commercial company, through which immense riches were expected to come in.

SINCE the Spaniard, Ferdinand de Soto, perished on the banks of the Mississippi, about the year 1538, it was generally believed that those regions contained immense treasures. It was a matter of doubt where these riches were to be found; but still the celebrated mines of St. Barbe were talked of with rapture. If they seemed to be forgotten at times, this temporary neglect served only to quicken the attention of the people towards them. Law availed himself of this credulity, and endeavoured to encourage and increase it by mysterious reports. It was rumoured as a secret that these and many other mines had at length been discovered, but that they were far richer than they



they were generally supposed to be. To give the B O O K greater weight to this false report, which had already gained too much credit, a number of miners were sent over to work these mines, which were imagined to be so valuable, with a body of troops sufficient to defend them. XVI.

It is inconceivable what a sudden impression this stratagem made upon a nation naturally fond of novelty. Every one was eager to obtain a share in the new company. Every speculation, scheme and expectation was directed to this channel. The Mississippi became the grand object and the ultimate end of all pursuits. The adventurers were not content with a bare association with the company which had obtained the disposal of that fine country: they were applied to from all quarters for large tracts of land for plantations, which, it was given out, were to yield in a few years the centuple of what should be laid out upon them. Whether they were led by motives of interest, or acted from conviction, or were seduced by flattery, certain it is that those who were accounted the most intelligent men in the nation, the richest and the highest in repute, were the most forward in forming these settlements. Others were induced by their example, and those whose fortunes would not permit them to become proprietors, solicited to have the management of the plantations, or, at least, to work in them.

DURING this general infatuation, all persons who offered themselves, whether natives or fo-



BOOK XVI. reigners, were promiscuously and carelessly crowded into ships. They were landed upon the sands of the Biloxi, where they perished by thousands, with want and vexation. They might have been conveyed up the Mississippi, and landed immediately upon the country they were to clear; but the managers of the enterprize, never thought of sending proper boats for that purpose. Even after they found that the ships coming from Europe could sail up the river, the head quarters still continued to be fatal to those unhappy and numerous victims that had fallen a sacrifice to a political imposture. The head quarters were not removed to New Orleans till five years after, that is, till hardly any were left of those unfortunate people who had been weak enough to quit their native country upon such uncertain prospects.

BUT at this period, when it was too late, the charm was dissolved, and the mines vanished. Nothing remained but the shame of having been misled by chimerical notions. Louisiana shared the fate of those extraordinary men who have been too highly extolled, and are afterwards punished for this unmerited fame, by being degraded below their real worth. This enchanted country was now held in execration. Its very name became a reproach. The Mississippi was the terror of free men. No recruits were to be found to send thither, but such as were taken from prisons and houses of ill fame. It became the receptacle  
of

of the lowest and most profligate persons in the B O O K  
kingdom.

XVI.

WHAT could be expected from a settlement composed of such persons? Vicious men will neither people a country, nor labour; nor continue long in any place. Many of those miserable persons who had been transported into these savage climates, went into the English or Spanish settlements, to exhibit the disagreeable view of their distress and misery. Others soon perished from the infection they were tainted with, before they had left Europe. The greater number wandered in the utmost distress in the woods, till hunger and weariness put an end to their existence. Nothing was yet begun in the colony, though twenty-five millions of livres \* had been sunk there. The managers of the company that advanced these vast sums, ridiculously pretended that in the capital of France they could lay the plan of such undertakings as were fit for America. Paris, unacquainted with its own provinces, which it despises and exhausts, would have submitted every thing to the operations of these hasty and frivolous calculators. From the office of the company, they pretended to regulate and direct all the inhabitants of Louisiana, and to impose various restraints upon them, which were all to the advantage of the exclusive charter. Had they granted some trifling encouragements to citizens of character, who might have been invited to settle in  
the

B O O K the colony, by securing to them that liberty which  
 XVI. every man covets, that property which every man  
 has a right to expect from his own labour, and that protection which is due from every society to its members; such encouragements as these, given to proprietors well informed of their real interest and property, directed by the circumstances of the place, would have been productive of far greater and more lasting effects; and would have established more extensive, solid, and profitable settlements, than any the company could ever have formed with all their treasures, dispensed and managed by agents who could neither have the knowledge requisite to conduct so many various operations, nor even be influenced by any immediate interest in their success.

THE ministry, however, thought it conducive to the welfare of the state, to leave the concerns of Louisiana in the hands of the company; which was under a necessity of exerting all its interest, to obtain permission to alienate that part of its privilege. It was even obliged to purchase this favour in 1731, by paying down the sum of 1,450,000 livres:\* there being some states where the right of being involved in ruin, that of being exempt from it, and that of acquiring a fortune, are equally sold; because good or evil, whether public or private, may prove an object of finance. But after all, what was to become of this country, which had been alternately so highly extolled,  
 and

\* 63,437 l. 10s.



and so much depreciated, when it came to be in B O O K  
reality a national possession ?

XVI.

LOUISIANA is a vast country, bounded on the south by the sea ; on the east by Carolina ; on the west by New Mexico ; and on the north by that part of Canada whose unknown lands are supposed to extend as far as Hudson's bay. It is impossible to ascertain the exact length of it ; but it is thought to be about two hundred leagues broad, between the English and Spanish settlements.

Extent,  
climate,  
fertility,  
and original inhabitants of  
Louisiana.

IN so extensive a country, the climate cannot be every where the same. It was in no place found to be such as might have been expected from its latitude. Lower Louisiana, though in the same degree with the coast of Barbary, is no hotter than the south of France ; and those parts of it that are situated in the 35th and 36th degrees, are no warmer than the northern provinces of the mother country. This phœnomenon, which seems so extraordinary to a common observer, may be accounted for by a natural philosopher, from the thick forests which prevent the rays of the sun from heating the ground ; the numberless rivers which keep it constantly damp ; and the winds which blow from the north over a vast extent of land.

THE sky is seldom clouded ; the sun, which gives life to every thing, shining almost every day. Whenever it rains, the showers are heavy : but as they seldom happen, the want of them is amply compensated by copious dews.

BOOK XVI. The air in general is pure, but much more so in upper than in lower Louisiana. In this happy climate, the women are blessed with a pleasing figure, and the men are less subject to disorders in the vigour of life, and have fewer infirmities in old age than the Europeans.

THE soil must have appeared excellent before it was tried. It abounded with wild fruits, very pleasant to the taste. It furnished a liberal provision for a great number of birds and wild beasts. The meadows, on which no art or labour had been bestowed, were covered with roebucks and bisons. Perhaps, no trees are to be found comparable to those of Louisiana for height, variety, and thickness. If it affords no woods for dying, it is because they are only produced between the tropics. Since the soil has been tried in several districts, it has been found to be fit for all kinds of culture.

THE source of that famous river which divides this immense country, almost in two equal parts, from north to south, has never yet been discovered. The boldest travellers have not gone higher than about a hundred leagues above the fall of St. Anthony, the course of which is intercepted by a pretty high cascade, about the 46th degree of latitude. From thence to the sea, which is about 700 leagues distant, the navigation is not liable to be interrupted. The Mississippi, after being enlarged by the river of the Illinois, the Missouri, the Wabache, and a great number of

of

of smaller rivers, maintains an interrupted course, B O O K  
 till it falls into the ocean. All circumstances con- XVI.  
 cur to prove, that the bed of this river is widened  
 near a hundred leagues, and that its bottom is  
 almost recent ground, since not a single stone is  
 to be found in it. The sea, throws up here a  
 prodigious quantity of mud, leaves of reeds,  
 boughs and stumps of trees, that the Mississippi is  
 continually washing down; which different mate-  
 rials being driven backward and forward, and be-  
 ing collected together, form themselves into a solid  
 mass, continually tending to the prolongation of  
 this vast continent. Another still more striking  
 singularity, and, perhaps, no where else to be  
 met with, is that the waters of this great river,  
 when once they are diverted from their channel,  
 never return into it. The reason is this.

THE Mississippi is annually swelled by the melt-  
 ing of the northern snows, which begins in  
 March, and continues for about three months.  
 The bed of the river being very deep at the up-  
 per part, it seldom overflows on the east side, till  
 it comes within sixty leagues of the sea, nor on  
 the west, till within a hundred leagues; that is to  
 say, in the low lands which we imagine to be re-  
 cent. These muddy grounds, like all others that  
 have not yet acquired a due consistence, produce  
 a prodigious quantity of large reeds, in which  
 all extraneous bodies washed down the river, are  
 entangled. These bodies all joining together,  
 and added to the slime that fills up the interstices,



**B O O K** in process of time form a mass, which raises the  
**XVI.** banks higher than the adjacent ground; so that  
the waters, once overflowed, are prevented by  
this obstacle from the possibility of returning into  
their former channel; and are therefore, forced  
to make a passage for themselves through the  
sands into the sea.

WHEN the breadth and depth of the Mississippi are alone considered, the navigation appears to be easy; but this is an error. It is very tedious, even in coming down, because it would be dangerous by night in dark weather, and because the light canoes made of bark, which are so convenient on all other rivers, are useless upon this. It requires larger boats, which are consequently heavier, and not so easily managed. Without these precautions, as the river is always full of trees that fall from its own banks, or float into it from other rivers it receives, the boats would be in continual danger of striking against the boughs or roots of some tree lying under water. The difficulties are greater still in going up the river.

AT a certain distance from land, before the entrance of the Mississippi, care must be taken to keep clear of the floating wood that is come down from Louisiana. The coast is so flat, that it can hardly be seen at the distance of two leagues, and it is not easy to get up to it. The river empties itself into the sea, by a great number of openings. These openings are constantly varying, and most of them have but little depth of water. When a vessel

vessel has happily surmounted all these obstacles, BOOK  
 she may sail without any great difficulty, ten or XVI.  
 eleven leagues, by an open and sandy country. }  
 The boats on each side, are covered with thick  
 forests, that wholly intercept the winds. Such a  
 dead calm prevails, that it commonly takes up a  
 month to sail twenty leagues; and this is only to  
 be effected, by successively fastening the cordage  
 to some great tree. The difficulty is increased in  
 sailing beyond the forest, which terminates at the  
*détour* belonging to the English, by a crescent  
 that shuts almost close. The rest of the naviga-  
 tion, upon a stream so rapid, and so full of cur-  
 rents, is performed in boats that go with oars and  
 sails, and are forced to pass on from one point of  
 land to another; and though they set out by  
 break of day, are thought to have made a con-  
 siderable progress, if they have advanced five or  
 six leagues by the close of the evening. The Eu-  
 ropeans engaged in this navigation, are attended by  
 some Indian hunters, who follow by land, and  
 supply them with subsistence during the three  
 months and a half that are employed in going  
 from one extremity of the colony to the other.

THESE are the only difficulties the French have  
 met with, in forming settlements in the vast re-  
 gion of Louisiana. The English, settled in the  
 east, were too assiduously employed in their plan-  
 tations, to neglect them for the sake of ravaging  
 distant regions, and have seldom succeeded in se-  
 ducing, even for a short time, the small wandering  
 nations

BOOK nations between the two colonies. The Spaniards, XVI. unfortunately for themselves, were more turbulent in the west. The desire of removing a neighbour whose restless disposition might one day be prejudicial to them in New Mexico, induced them in 1720 to form the plan of a settlement far beyond the lands which till then had terminated their boundaries. The numerous caravans that were to compose this new colony, set out from Santa Fé, with all the requisites for a permanent habitation. They directed their march towards the Ozages, whom they wanted to induce to join with them in extirpating an indigenuous nation, who were neighbours and enemies to the Ozages, and whose territory they intended to occupy. The Spaniards accidentally missed their way, and came directly to that nation whose ruin they were meditating; and mistaking these Indians for the Ozages, communicated their designs without any reserve.

THE chief of the Missourys, who became acquainted by this singular mistake with the danger that threatened him and his people, dissembled his resentment. He told the Spaniards he would gladly concur in promoting the success of their undertaking, and only desired two days to assemble his warriors. When they were armed to the number of two thousand, they fell upon the Spaniards, whom they had amused with feasting, and dancing, and whom they found fast asleep, and massacred them all, without distinction of age or



or sex. The chaplain who alone escaped the BOOK slaughter, owed his preservation to the singularity XVI. of his dress. This catastrophe having secured the tranquillity of Louisiana, on the side where it was most threatened, it could only be molested by the natives; but these were not much to be feared.

THESE savages were divided into several nations, none of them very populous, and all at enmity with each other, though separated by immense deserts. Most of them had a fixed abode, and generally worshipped the sun. Their houses were only made of leaves interwoven with each other, and fastened to a number of stakes. Those who did not go quite naked, were only covered with the skins of wild beasts. They lived upon the produce of hunting and fishing, upon maize, and some spontaneous fruits. Their customs were nearly the same as those of the savages of Canada, but they had not the same degree of strength and courage, of quickness and sagacity; and their character was less marked. Whatever natural causes might contribute to this difference, the savages of Louisiana were under the dominion of chiefs who exercised almost an absolute authority over them.

AMONG these nations, the Natches were the only people that excited any attention. They paid obedience to one man, who stiled himself GREAT SUN; because he bore upon his breast the image of that luminary, from which he claimed his descent. The whole business of govern-

VOL. V. D ment,

BOOK XVI. ment, war, and religion depended upon him. The whole universe, could not, perhaps, have shewn such a tyrant. - The wife of this sun, as he was called, was invested with the same authority as himself. When any of these enslaved savages had the misfortune to displease any of his superiors, they used to say to their guards, *Rid me of that dog*, and were instantly obeyed. All labour was undertaken in common, and entirely for the benefit of the ruler, who distributed the produce as he thought proper. On the demise of either the husband or the wife, their guards always killed themselves, that they might attend and serve them in the next world. The religion of the Natches, which had much the same tenets as that of other savages, had more ceremonies, and consequently was attended with more mischievous effects. There was, however, but one temple for the whole nation: and accidentally it once caught fire, which occasioned a general consternation. They tried in vain to stop the progress of the flames. Some mothers threw their children into them, and at length the fire was extinguished. The next day these barbarous heroines were extolled in a discourse delivered by the despotic pontiff. It is thus that his authority was maintained. It is astonishing how so poor and so savage a nation could be so cruelly enslaved. But superstition accounts for all the unreasonable actions of men. That alone could deprive a nation of its liberty, which had little else to lose.

THE country inhabited by the Natches, on the BOOK banks of the Mississippi, was however pleasant and XVI. fertile. It drew the attention of the first Frenchmen who sailed up the river. Far from opposing their intention of settling there, these people assisted them in it. A mutual interchange of good offices laid the foundation of a lasting friendship between the two nations. This might have taken place had not the avidity of the Europeans weakened the connection. They at first desired only to agree for the productions of the country; but afterwards set their own price upon them; and at last they found it would be more convenient to have them for nothing. Their audacity increased to such a degree, that they drove the old inhabitants from the fields they had cleared.

THESE acts of tyranny incensed the savages. In vain had they recourse to intreaties, and to force. Every expedient was either useless or prejudicial to them. Driven to despair they at length endeavoured to engage all the eastern nations, whose dispositions they were acquainted with, to join in the common cause of vengeance, and towards the latter end of the year 1729, they succeeded in forming a universal league, the purport of which was to assassinate all their oppressors at the same instant. As the art of writing was unknown to the confederate nations, they agreed to count a certain number of bits of wood. One of these was to be burnt every day, and the last was to be the signal for the massacre.



BOOK

XVI. THE wife of the great chief was informed of the plot, by a son she had by a Frenchman. She mentioned it three or four times to the French commanding officer in the neighbourhood, and acquainted him with all the particulars. This intelligence was disregarded; but she still persisted in her resolution of saving those strangers whom affection had made her consider as natives. Though she interested herself so warmly for the whole nation merely from attachment to the French settled in her own town, yet she determined to save those she had never seen, even at the peril of those she was acquainted with. Her authority as wife of the sun, giving her free access to the temple, where the bits of wood were deposited, she took away one or more of them every day, at the hazard of hastening the destruction of those French who were near her, since this was necessary, in order to insure the safety of the rest. Every thing happened as she expected. The Natches on the day indicated by the signal agreed upon, not doubting but all their allies were at that instant perpetrating the same tragical scene, fell upon the French, and destroyed them; but as the bits of wood had not been stolen from the other conspirators, all remained quiet; and this circumstance alone saved the rising colony. In case of a surprise, they had nothing to oppose to so many enemies, but a few rotten pales, ill defended by a handful of undisciplined vagabonds, almost unarmed.

BUT Perrier, in whom the authority was vested, B O O K  
 did not lose that presence of mind which courage XVI.  
 inspires. The less he was able to resist, the more ~~~~~  
 haughtiness he affected. These appearances had  
 such an effect, that either for fear of being sus-  
 pected, or in hopes of pardon, many of the con-  
 spirators joined with him to destroy the Natches.  
 This nation was put to the sword, their houses  
 were burnt, and no remains of them were left but  
 the place they had formerly occupied.

SOME few, however, of this unfortunate peo-  
 ple, who happened to be dispersed at a distance  
 from the center of their dominions, had time to  
 take refuge among the Chickasaws, the most in-  
 trepid nation in Louisiana. This nation had en-  
 tered with greater warmth into the league against  
 the French, than the rest; their undaunted and  
 generous spirit made the laws of hospitality, which  
 are inviolable among all savages, still more sacred  
 to them; so that no person dared at first to insist  
 on their delivering up the Natches, to whom they  
 had afforded refuge. But Bienville, who soon af-  
 ter succeeded Perrier, had the boldness to demand  
 that those fugitives should be given up. The in-  
 dians had the courage to refuse; and he immedi-  
 ately sent out all the troops of the colony against  
 them in 1736. They formed two separate corps;  
 one was repulsed with considerable loss before the  
 principal fort of the Chickasaws; the other was to-  
 tally defeated in the open field. A second attempt  
 was made four years after to subdue them with

B O O K fresh forces from Europe and Canada. The French  
 XVI. arms were as unsuccessful as before, till some fortunate incidents brought on an accommodation with the Indians. Since that period, nothing has disturbed the repose of Louisiana. We shall now see to what degree of prosperity this long peace has raised the colony.

What the French have done in Louisiana.

THE coasts of Louisiana, which are all situated on the gulph of Mexico, are in general flat, often overflowed, and every where covered with fine sand, as white as snow, and entirely barren. They are neither inhabited nor capable of being so. No forts have ever been erected upon these coasts, because there is no possibility of invading or making a descent upon them. The French have not established any settlements on the west side of the Mississippi. They had, indeed, formed some designs on the bay of St. Barnard in 1721; but they miscarried by the neglect of the officer who was intrusted with the execution of them. Instead of obeying the orders that had been given him, he entered the river Magdalena, which lay in his way, sailed up five or six leagues of it, carried off a few savages, and returned to the place from whence he came. The next year, when an attempt was made to correct this mistake, the post was occupied by some Spaniards from Vera Cruz.

To the east of the Mississippi is situated Fort Mobile, on the banks of the river of the same name, the course of which extends no less than



one hundred and thirty leagues. It is intended as B O O K a check upon the Chactaws, the Alibamous, and xvī. some smaller tribes, to keep them in alliance with France, and to secure their fur trade. The Spaniards of Pensacola buy up some provisions and merchandise at this settlement,

THERE are a great number of outlets at the mouth of the Mississippi, which are not always to be found in the same situation. Many of them are often dry. Some will only admit boats and canoes, and there is but one that can receive ships of five hundred tons burthen. On the channel through which they must sail, a kind of citadel is built, which is called La Balise. Twenty leagues higher up are two forts which flank both sides of the river, and defend it from all attacks. Though in themselves but indifferent, they would yet be able to oppose the passage of a hundred ships, especially as only one ship could come in at a time, and even that could neither cast anchor, nor come to a mooring at that place.

NEW ORLEANS is the first settlement that presents itself. It is thirty leagues distant from the sea. It was begun in 1717, but made no progress till 1722, when it became the chief place of the colony. At this period, the plan of a handsome city was traced out, which has been gradually and insensibly, as it were, raised. The streets are all straight, and cross each other at right angles. They form sixty-five detached pieces of ground, each containing fifty toises square,

BOOK XVI. which are divided into twelve parcels for as many inhabitants to build upon. The huts which formerly covered this great space are now transformed into commodious houses mostly built with brick. They are all surrounded with canals, which communicate with each other. This was thought to be a necessary precaution against the floods. This city, intended to be the center of all intercourse between the mother country and the colony, was built on the east side of the river. The landing is so easy that the largest ships need only make a little bridge with planks in order to unload their goods. But when the waters are high, it is necessary they should hasten their departure, because the quantity of wood that floats down the river at that time would accumulate in the anchoring place, and cut the largest cables asunder.

THE buildings are ranged in an uninterrupted line on both sides of the river. Below New Orleans, they extend but five leagues, and are not very considerable. Lower down the land begins to diminish in width, and continues constantly to decrease till it comes to the sea. Upon this neck of land, nothing is to be seen but sands and marshes which afford no shelter to the human species, and are only fit for the reception of water fowls and Moschettoes. The plantations up the Mississippi, reach ten leagues above the town. The most distant have been cleared by Germans, who with indefatigable labour have erected two villages, inhabited by the most industrious men in the colony.

In all this extent of fifteen leagues of cultivated B O O K land, the river has been embanked, to preserve XVI. the lands from the inundations, which return regularly every spring. The bank is preserved by broad ditches, cut round every field, to drain off the waters, which might otherwise overthrow this dike.

THROUGHOUT the whole space, the soil is very muddy, and extremely proper for productions that require a moist situation. When it becomes necessary to break up any fresh ground, the great reeds with which it is overrun are first cut down. As soon as they are dry, they are set fire to. If the earth is then but ever so slightly stirred, it produces great plenty of rice, Indian corn, and all sorts of grain, pulse or other vegetables, that are sown upon it, except wheat, which runs to grass from the too great luxuriancy of the soil.

POSSIBLY the inhabitants, which are scattered along the banks of the river, might have been more judiciously disposed four or five hundred paces further off, or even at the distance of half a league, upon some little eminences, which are very frequent near that spot. A more pure air and a good bottom would have been found there, and, probably, wheat would have succeeded, when the woods had been cleared. The fertility of the grounds, if left open to the annual inundation of the river, could not have been equalled, because the waters, as they subsided, would constantly have enriched them with a fresh supply of slime, which  
would



B O O K would have greatly promoted vegetation. In pro-  
 XVI. cesses of time, both sides of the Mississippi would  
 have been enriched by extensive pastures covered  
 with innumerable flocks and herds; a range of  
 gardens, orchards, and plantations of rice, suffi-  
 cient for a great number of inhabitants. This glo-  
 rious prospect might have been extended from  
 New Orleans, all over the lower Louisiana; and  
 thus a second France would have appeared in  
 America.

INSTEAD of this delightful prospect, ten leagues  
 above New Orleans, begins an immense desert,  
 where there are only two wretched towns, inha-  
 bited by savages. This desert extends thirty  
 leagues, as far as the place called Pointe Coupée,  
 which is the work of European industry. Here  
 the Mississippi formerly made a considerable bend.  
 Some Frenchmen, by digging at the bottom of a  
 rivulet that ran behind a point of land, brought  
 the waters of the river into it. They flowed with  
 such impetuosity into this new channel, that they  
 entirely cut off the remainder of the point, and  
 by this circumstance the navigation has been made  
 shorter by fourteen leagues. The old bed of the  
 river was soon dry, and was covered with such  
 large trees as astonished all who had seen them  
 spring up. This happy change gave life, stabi-  
 lity and fame to one of the best settlements in that  
 country.

THE inhabitants, settled on both sides of the ri-  
 ver, have embellished their habitations with all  
 kinds

kinds of European fruit-trees, none of which have B O O K  
 degenerated. For their own consumption they cul- XVI.  
 tivate rice and maize, and for exportation cotton,  
 and especially tobacco. The sale of their timber  
 is likewise a profitable article.

TWENTY leagues above the Pointe Coupée, the Red river falls into the Mississippi; upon which the French have built a fort thirty-five leagues from the mouth of it. It was in the country of the Natfitoches that this foundation of power and commerce was laid. The design was to convey into the colony through this channel the gold and silver of New Mexico, which had already circulated near the spot. But these hopes were frustrated by the poverty of the inhabitants, and the little intercourse they had with richer places. The only advantage reaped from that neighbourhood was that it supplied oxen and horses, which were not to be had in Louisiana. Since they have multiplied there, and no supplies are wanted from abroad, that post, the inhabitants of which had not attended to agriculture, has continually degenerated; and this loss is the more to be lamented, as the colony of the Natches is still in a greater decline.

Its situation, which is at a hundred and ten leagues from the sea, was the most favourable that Yberville could meet with in sailing up the river. He found no spot more eligible for the capital of the intended colony. All who viewed it after him, were equally delighted with the advantages

BOOK advantages it presented. The climate was healthy  
 XVI. and temperate; the soil fit for tobacco, cotton,  
 { indigo, and every kind of culture; the ground  
 high enough to be in no danger from the inundations; the country open, extensive, well watered, and within reach of every settlement that might be made. Its distance from the ocean was no impediment to the arrival of ships. So flattering a prospect very soon engaged a colony of five hundred men to settle there, when their intolerable ambition occasioned their total destruction by the hands of the exasperated savages. Those who came after to supply their place, and avenge their death, did not bring this settlement to any greater degree of prosperity, either because they were negligent, or met with fresh difficulties.

A hundred and twenty leagues above the Natches is the colony of the Akansas. It would have become very considerable, if the nine thousand Germans, raised in the Palatine with a view to form it, had arrived there safe. They were an honest and industrious people, but they all perished before they arrived at the place of their destination. The Canadians who fixed there in coming down the river, found a delightful climate, a fruitful soil, ease and tranquillity. As they had been accustomed to live with savages, they were not averse from marrying the daughters of the Akansas, and these alliances were attended with the happiest consequences. There never was the least coolness between the two nations united by these



these inter-marriages, though so different from B O O K  
 each other. They have lived in that state of com- XVI.  
 merce, and that intercourse of good offices, which  
 the fluctuating state of affairs occasionally required.

THE like harmony, though in a less degree, subsists among the Illinois, who are three hundred leagues distant from the Akansas: for in America the nations are not contiguous as they are in Europe, and are on that account more independent, both at home and abroad. They have no chiefs who to combine together, either to wrest them from, or sacrifice them to, each other; and render their condition so miserable, that they are indifferent to which they belong. The nation of the Illinois, the most northern in Louisiana, was constantly overcome, and always in danger of being destroyed by the Iroquois and other nations from the north, when the French arrived among them from Canada. These Europeans, who were renowned for their valour in that part of the new continent, were favourably received and their interest courted, as being able to make the most vigorous opposition against an old and inveterate enemy. The strangers have so much increased, that they fill six considerable villages, while the natives, who were formerly very populous, are now limited to three towns, which do not contain above two thousand souls. Both have forsaken the river which gave its name to the country, in order to settle towards the south of it on the more pleasant and fertile banks of the Mississippi. This settlement,  
 the

B O O K  
XVI.

the fertility of which it is impossible to exaggerate, is become the granary of the whole colony, and might supply it with plenty of corn, if it were peopled even as far as the sea. But it is far from being in so prosperous a state.

NEVER did Louisiana in its greatest splendour reckon more than five thousand white people, including twelve hundred men who composed the military force of the colony. This small number was dispersed through the banks of the Mississippi, along an extent of five hundred leagues, and defended by two or three bad forts constructed at different distances: it did not, however, consist of the dregs of Europe, which France had sent over into America, at the time when Law's system was established. All those miserable men had fortunately perished without leaving any posterity. The colonists of Louisiana were robust men, arrived from Canada, or disbanded soldiers, who had sensibly preferred the labours of agriculture to a life of idleness, the natural consequence of pride and prejudice. Every inhabitant received from the government, not only a piece of ground, with seed to sow it, but likewise a gun, an ax, a mattock, a cow and a calf, a cock and six hens, with a plentiful supply of wholesome provisions for three years. Some officers and a few men of substance had improved these rising settlements by considerable plantations, which employed six thousand slaves.

BUT the produce of their labour was very inconsiderable. The annual exports of the colony did

did not exceed 200,000 crowns.\* They consist-  
 ed of rice, planks, maize, and pulse for the su-  
 gar islands; cotton, indigo, tobacco and furs for  
 the mother country.

THIS settlement, which seemed intended by na-  
 ture for a capital one, would, probably, have  
 prospered, had it not been for an original error  
 adopted of granting lands indiscriminately to eve-  
 ry person who applied for them, and in the man-  
 ner in which he desired them. There would not  
 then have been any colonists separated from each  
 other by deserts of several hundred leagues, and  
 desirous of forming such a settlement as would  
 have constituted a small state in Europe. Had  
 they fixed in a common center, they might have  
 assisted each other, and living under the same laws,  
 have enjoyed all the advantages of a well-regulated  
 society. As population increased, the lands would  
 have been cleared to a greater extent. Instead of  
 a few hordes of savages, we should have seen a  
 rising colony, which might in time have become a  
 powerful nation, and procured infinite advantages  
 to France.

What the  
 French  
 might have  
 done in  
 Louisiana.

THE French, who annually purchase from fo-  
 reign powers seventeen millions weight of to-  
 bacco, would easily have been supplied with that  
 commodity from Louisiana. Twelve or fifteen  
 thousand men skilled in the cultivation of it,  
 would have furnished a sufficient quantity for the

con-

\* 26,250l.

B O O K  
 XVI.



BOOK consumption of the whole kingdom. Such were  
 XVI. the hopes the government entertained, when they  
 } ordered all the tobacco plantations in Guiana to  
 be destroyed. Convinced that the lands in that  
 province were adapted to more important and  
 richer cultures, and would produce necessary ar-  
 ticles of greater consequence, they thought it  
 would be advantageous both to the mother coun-  
 try and the colony, to secure to Louisiana, then  
 in its infant state, a market for that production,  
 which would more easily succeed and bring in  
 greater returns, as it required less time, expe-  
 rience and expence. When Law, the projector  
 of this undertaking, fell into discredit, his most  
 rational schemes were laid aside, and shared the  
 same fate as those which were merely the offspring  
 of a disordered imagination. The farmers of the  
 revenue, who were gainers by this mistake,  
 omitted nothing to encourage it; and every pa-  
 triot must be allowed to say, that this is not one  
 of the least mischiefs the finance has done to the  
 monarchy.

THE wealth which tobacco would have pro-  
 cured to the colony, would have made it sensible  
 of the advantages that might be derived from the  
 spacious and beautiful meadows with which that  
 country abounds. They would soon have been  
 covered with cattle; whose hides would have sup-  
 plied the mother country with leather, without  
 importing any from abroad, and whose flesh when  
 prepared and salted, would have been disposed of  
 in.

in the islands, instead of Irish beef. Horses and B O O K  
 mules, multiplying in the same proportion as the X V I.  
 horned cattle, would have freed the French colonies from the dependence they have always had upon the English and Spaniards for this necessary article.

As soon as the colonists had begun to exert themselves, they would have proceeded from one branch of industry to another. They could not possibly avoid building ships, because they had the materials at hand. The country was covered with wood fit for the hull, and the fir-trees that grew in great plenty along the coast, would have afforded masts and tar. There was no want of oak for the planks, and if there had been, it might have been supplied by cypress, which is less apt to split, bend or break, and whose additional thickness might have compensated for its want of strength and hardness. They might easily have grown hemp for the sails and rigging. Nothing, perhaps, need have been imported but iron; and it is even more than probable that there are iron mines in Louisiana. It is likely that the government, encouraged by the success of individuals, would soon have erected docks for ship-building, and storehouses ready for equipping and fitting out fleets in America.

THE forests being felled for these purposes without any expence, and even with advantage, the ground would have been laid open for corn, cotton, indigo, flax or olive-trees; and even silk

B O O K might have been undertaken with success, when  
 XVI. once the colony had been sufficiently populous to  
 attend to an employment, which the mildness of  
 the climate, the increase of mulberry trees, and  
 some successful trials had constantly invited them  
 to undertake. In short, what might not have  
 been expected from a country, where the air is  
 temperate, and ground even, fresh, and fertile ;  
 and which properly speaking had never yet been  
 inhabited, but traversed carelessly, by vagabonds  
 equally destitute of skill and conduct.

HAD Louisiana attained to that degree of per-  
 fection it was capable of, its harbour would soon  
 have been made more easy of access and more  
 commodious ; and this might have been done by  
 attending constantly to it, without incurring any  
 great expence. For this purpose it would have  
 been sufficient to have stopped up all those useless  
 passes, which are rather a hindrance than a help  
 to navigation, with the floating trees washed down  
 by the river. The whole force of the stream be-  
 ing thus confined to one channel, it would have  
 become deeper at the mouth of the river, and the  
 bar which almost shuts it up, would, probably,  
 have been removed. The largest ships might  
 then have sailed into the Mississippi with more ease  
 and safety than the smallest do at present. After  
 this, those thick forests that intercept the wind  
 might have been felled, and the navigation up  
 the river to New Orleans rendered less tedious.  
 Every art and science and useful improvement,  
 would



would have successively appeared to form a flourish- B O O K  
 ing and vigorous colony in that spacious XVI.  
 plain.

BUT France overlooked all these advantages when she ceded that country, which alone could compensate her former losses, and gave it up to Spain, to whom it could only be a burthen. It may, perhaps, for a long time remain a political problem, whether this cession was not alike detrimental to both kingdoms, which were equally weakened by it; the one, by giving up what she ought to have retained, and the other by accepting what she could not keep. But in a moral view, may it not be considered as an illegal act thus to have sold or given away the members of the community to a foreign power? For what right has a prince to dispose of his subjects without their consent?

France  
 cedes Lou-  
 isiana to  
 the Spa-  
 niards.  
 Whether  
 she had a  
 right to do  
 this?

WHAT becomes of the rights of the people, if all is due from the nation to the prince, and nothing from the prince to the nation? Are there then no rights but those of princes? These pretend to derive their power from God alone. This maxim which is invented by the clergy, only with a design of raising kings above the people, that they themselves may command even kings in the name of the deity, is no more than an iron chain, to bind a whole nation under the power of one man. It is no longer a mutual tie of love and virtue, of interest and fidelity, that gives to one family the rule in the midst of a society,

B O O K

XVI. BUT why should the sovereign authority wish to conceal its being derived from men? Kings are sufficiently informed by nature, experience, history, and their own consciousness, that it is of the people they hold all they possess, whether conquered by arms, or acquired by treaty. As they receive from the people all the marks of obedience, why should they refuse to accept from them all the rights of authority? Nothing is to be apprehended from voluntary submission, nor is any thing to be obtained by the abuse of usurped power. It can only be supported by violence; and is it possible that a prince can be happy who commands only by force, and is obeyed only through fear? He cannot sit easy upon his throne, when he cannot reign without asserting that he holds his crown from God alone. Every man may more truly affirm, that he holds from God his life, his liberty, the unalienable right of being governed only by reason and justice. The welfare then and security of the people is the supreme law on which all others depend. This is, undoubtedly, the real fundamental law of all society. It is by this we must interpret every particular law which must be derived from this principle, and serve to explain and support it.

If we apply this rule to the treaties of division and cession which kings make between themselves, will it appear that they have the right of buying, selling or exchanging their subjects without their consent? Shall princes then arrogate to them-

themselves the barbarous right of alienating or BOOK mortgaging their provinces and their subjects as XVI. they would their effects or estates; while the supplies granted for the support of their house, the forests of their domain, the jewels of their crown, are all sacred unalienable effects, which we must never have recourse to, even in the most pressing exigencies of the state.—Methinks I hear the voice of a numerous colony exclaiming from America, and addressing the mother country, in the following terms.

“ WHAT have I done to thee, that thou shouldst  
 “ deliver me up into the hands of a stranger?  
 “ Did I not spring from thy loins? Have I not  
 “ sown, planted, cultivated, and reaped for thee  
 “ alone? When thy ships conveyed me to these  
 “ shores, so different from thy own happy cli-  
 “ mate, didst thou not engage for ever to protect  
 “ me with thy fleets and armies? Have I not  
 “ fought in support of thy rights, and defended  
 “ the country thou gavest me? After having fer-  
 “ tilized it by my labour, have I not maintained  
 “ it for thee at the expence of my blood? Thy  
 “ children were my parents or my brethren; thy  
 “ laws my boast, and thy name my pride: that  
 “ name which I have striven to render illustrious  
 “ among nations to whom it was unknown. I  
 “ have procured thee friends and allies among  
 “ the savages. I flattered myself with the  
 “ thought that I might one day come in compe-  
 “ tition with thy rivals, and be the terror of thy  
 “ enemies.



BOOK

“ enemies. But thou hast forsaken me. Thou

XVI. “ hast bound me without my consent by a treaty,

“ the very concealment of which was a treachery.

“ Unfeeling, ungrateful parent, how couldst thou

“ break, in opposition to the dictates of nature,

“ the ties by which I was attached to thee, even

“ from my birth? While with incessant and pain-

“ ful toil I was restoring to thee the tribute of

“ nourishment and subsistence I had received

“ from thee, I wished for no other comfort than

“ that of living and dying under thy law. That

“ comfort thou hast refused me. Thou hast torn

“ me from my family to deliver me up to a ma-

“ ster whom I did not approve. Restore my pa-

“ rent to me; restore me to him whose name I

“ have been used to call upon from my earliest

“ infancy. It is in thy power to make me sub-

“ mit against my will to a yoke which I abhor;

“ but this submission will only be temporary. I

“ shall languish and perish with grief and weak-

“ ness; or if I should recover life and vigour, it

“ will only be to withdraw myself from con-

“ nections I detest; though I should even be com-

“ pelled to deliver myself up to thy enemies?”

LOUISIANA being in fact oppressed by her new masters, was desirous of shaking off a yoke which she abhorred even before it was imposed; but being rejected by France when she endeavoured to put herself again under her protection, she returned under the dominion of the same power from whose chains she had attempted to free herself.

self,

self. The cruelties she has experienced from the B O O K  
 resentment of an incensed government, have <sup>XVI.</sup>  
 served only to increase a hatred already too in-  
 venerate to be forgotten. With such dispositions,  
 the colony can scarce flatter itself with the prospect  
 of any degree of prosperity. Canada, though it  
 has likewise changed its mother country, will not  
 meet with the same obstacles to its improvement.

AT the peace of Utrecht, this vast country was <sup>State of  
 Canada at  
 the peace  
 of Utrecht.</sup>  
 in a state of weakness and misery not to be con-  
 ceived. This was owing to the French who first  
 came there, and who rather threw themselves into  
 this country, than settled in it. Most of them  
 had done nothing more than run about the  
 woods; the more sensible among them had at-  
 tempted some cultures, but without choice or  
 plan. A piece of ground, hastily tilled and built  
 upon, was as hastily forsaken. The expences,  
 however, the government had laid out, together  
 with the profits of the fur trade, afforded some-  
 times the inhabitants a tolerable subsistence; but  
 a series of unfortunate wars soon deprived them of  
 these advantages. In 1714, the exports from  
 Canada did not exceed a hundred thousand  
 crowns\*. This sum, added to 350,000 livres†,  
 which the government sent over every year, was  
 all the colony had to depend upon, for the pay-  
 ment of the goods they received from Europe.  
 And indeed these were so few, that the generality  
 were reduced to wear skins like the Indians.

E 4

Such

\* 13,125l.

† 15,312l. 10s.

BOOK Such was the distressful situation of the far greater  
 XVI. part of twenty thousand French, supposed to inhabit these immense regions.

Populati-  
 on, agri-  
 culture,  
 manners,  
 govern-  
 ment,  
 fisheries,  
 industry,  
 and reve-  
 nues of  
 Canada.

THE happy spirit which at that time animated the several parts of the world, roused Canada from that state of indolence and inactivity in which it had so long been plunged. It appears from the estimates taken in 1753 and 1758, which were nearly equal, that the inhabitants amounted to 91,000, exclusive of the regular troops, whose numbers varied according to the different exigencies of the colony.

THIS calculation did not include the many allies dispersed throughout an extent of 1200 leagues in length, and of considerable breadth, nor the 16,000 Indians who dwelt in the center of the French settlements, or in their neighbourhood. None of these were ever considered as subjects, though they lived in the midst of a great European colony: the smallest clans still preserved their independence. All men talk of liberty, but the savage alone enjoys it. Not only the whole nation, but every individual is truly free. The consciousness of his independence influences all his thoughts and actions. He would enter the palace of an Asiatic monarch, in the same manner as he would the cottage of a peasant, and neither be dazzled with his splendour, nor awed by his power. It is his own species, it is mankind, it is his equal that he loves and respects, but he would hate a master and destroy him.



PART of the French colony was centered in B O O K three cities. Quebec, the capital of Canada, is XVI. 1500 leagues distant from France, and 120 leagues from the sea. It is built in the form of an amphitheatre, on a peninsula, made by the river St. Lawrence, and the river St. Charles, and commands a prospect over extensive fields, which serve to enrich it, and over a very safe road that will admit upwards of two hundred ships. It is three miles in circumference. Two thirds of this circuit are defended by the water and the rocks, which are a better security than the fortifications erected on the ramparts that divide the peninsula. The houses are tolerably well built. The inhabitants were computed at about 10,000 at the beginning of the year 1759. This place was the center of commerce, and the seat of government.

THE city of the Trois Rivieres, built ten years later than Quebec, and situated thirty leagues higher, was raised with a view of encouraging the trade with the northern Indians. But this settlement, though promising at first, never contained more than 1500 inhabitants, because the fur trade was soon diverted from this market, and carried entirely to Montreal.

MONTREAL is an island, ten leagues long and almost four broad, formed by the river St. Lawrence, sixty leagues above Quebec. It is the most temperate, pleasant and fruitful spot in all the country. A few huts thrown up there as it were  
by

BOOK by chance in 1640, were improved to a regular  
 XVI. built town, which contained four thousand inha-  
 bitants. At first it lay exposed to the insults of  
 the savages, but was afterwards inclosed with  
 slight pallisades, and then with a wall, constructed  
 about fifteen feet high, with battlements. It fell  
 to decay, when the inroads of the Iroquois obliged  
 the French to erect forts higher up the country,  
 to secure the fur trade.

THE other colonists, who were not contained  
 within the walls of these three cities, did not live  
 in towns, but were scattered along the banks of  
 the river St. Lawrence. None were to be seen  
 near the mouth of that river, where the soil is  
 rugged and barren, and where no corn will ripen.  
 The first habitations to the south, were built at  
 fifty leagues, and to the north, at twenty leagues  
 below Quebec; they were at a great distance from  
 each other, and their produce was but indifferent.  
 No very fertile fields were to be found but in the  
 neighbourhood of its capital, and they improved  
 as one approached Montreal. There cannot be a  
 more beautiful prospect than the rich borders of  
 that long and broad canal. Detached woods ad-  
 ding beauty to the tops of the verdant mountains,  
 meadows covered with flocks, fields crowned with  
 ripening corn, small streams of water flowing  
 down to the river, churches and castles seen at  
 intervals through the trees, exhibited a succession  
 of the most enchanting views. These would have  
 been still more delightful, if the edict of 1745  
 had

had been observed, which forbid the colonist B O O K from dividing his plantations, unless they were an XVI. acre and a half in front, and thirty or forty acres in depth. Indolent heirs would not then have torn in pieces the inheritance of their fathers. They would have been compelled to form new plantations; and vast spaces of fallow land would no longer have separated rich and cultivated plains.

NATURE herself directed the labours of the husbandman, and taught him that watery and sandy grounds, and those where the pine, the fir tree and the cedar grew solitary, were unfavourable to agriculture; but wherever he found a soil covered with maple, oak, beach, hornbeam and small cherry trees, he might reasonably expect that his wheat would yield twenty times, and his Indian corn thirty times as much as before, without the trouble of manuring.

THE plantations though not equally large, all afforded a sufficient supply for the wants of their respective owners. There were few of them that did not yield maize, barley, flax, hemp, tobacco, pulse, and pot-herbs in great plenty, and excellent in their kind.

MOST of the inhabitants had a score of sheep whose wool was very valuable to them, ten or a dozen milch cows, and five or six oxen for the plough. The cattle were small, but their flesh was excellent, and these people lived much better than our country people do in Europe.



BOOK WITH this kind of affluence, they could afford  
 XVI. to keep a good number of horses; which were  
 not fine, but fit for drudgery, and able to perform journeys of amazing length upon the snow. And indeed the colonists took such delight in increasing the breed of them, that in winter time they would feed them with the corn which they themselves wanted sometimes at another season.

SUCH was the situation of the 83,000 French, dispersed or collected on the banks of the river St. Lawrence. Above the head of the river, and in what is called the upper country, there were 8000 more, who were rather addicted to hunting and trade than to husbandry.

THEIR first settlement was Catarakui, or fort Frontenac, built in 1671 at the entrance of the lake Ontario, to stop the inroads of the English and Iroquois. The bay of this place served as a harbour for the men of war and trading vessels belonging to this great lake, which might with more propriety be called a sea, and where storms are almost as frequent and as dreadful as on the ocean.

BETWEEN the lakes Ontario and Erie, each of which measures 300 leagues in circumference, lies a tract of land fourteen leagues in extent. This tract is intersected towards the middle by the famous fall of Niagara, which from its height, breadth and shape, and from the quantity and impetuosity of its waters, is justly accounted the most wonderful cataract in the world. It was  
 above

above this grand and awful water-fall, that France B O O K  
 had erected fortifications, with a design to prevent XVI.  
 the Indians from carrying their furs to the rival }  
 nation.

BEYOND the lake Erie is an extent of land, distinguished by the name of the Streight, which exceeds all Canada for the mildness of the climate, the beauty and variety of the prospects, the richness of the soil, and the profusion of game and fish. Nature has lavished all her blessings to enrich this delightful spot. But this was not the motive that determined the French to settle there in the beginning of the present century. It was the vicinity of several Indian nations who could supply them with considerable quantities of furs; and, indeed, this trade increased very fast.

THE success of this new settlement proved fatal to the post of Michillimakinach; a hundred leagues further, between the lake Michigan, the lake Huron, and the lake Superior, which are all three navigable. The greatest part of the trade which used to be carried on there with the natives, was transferred to the Streight, where it continued.

BESIDES the forts already mentioned, there are some of less note, built in different parts of the country, either upon rivers, or at the openings between the mountains. The first sentiment interest inspires, is that of mistrust, and its first impulse, is that of attack or defence. Each of these forts was provided with a garrison, which defended

B O O K fended the French who were settled in the neigh-  
 XVI. bourhood. There were in all 8000 souls, who  
 } inhabited the upper country.

THE manners of the French colonists settled in Canada were not always answerable to the climate they inhabited. Those that lived in the country, spent their winter in idleness, pensively sitting by their fire-side. When the return of spring called them out to the indispensable labours of the field, they ploughed the ground superficially without ever manuring it, sowed it carelessly, and then returned to their former indolent manner of life till harvest time. As the people were too proud or too lazy to work by the day, every family was obliged to gather in their own crops; and nothing was to be seen of that sprightly joy, which on a fine summer's day enlivens the reapers, while they are gathering in their rich harvest. That of the Canadians was confined to a small quantity of corn of each kind, a little hay and tobacco, a few cyder-apples, cabbage and onions. This was the whole produce of a plantation in that country.

THIS amazing negligence might be owing to several causes. The excessive cold in winter, which froze up the rivers, totally prevented them from exerting their abilities. They contracted such a habit of idleness during the continuance of the severe weather for eight months successively, that labour appeared insupportable to them even in the finest weather. The numerous festivals prescribed by their religion, which owed its in-crease




crease to their establishment, prevented the first exertion, as well as interrupted the progress of industry. Men are ready enough to comply with that species of devotion that flatters their indolence. Lastly, a passion for war, which had been purposely encouraged among these bold and courageous men, made them averse from the labours of husbandry. Their minds were so entirely captivated with military glory, that they thought only of war, though they engaged in it without pay.

THE inhabitants of the cities, especially of the capital, spent the winter as well as the summer, in a constant scene of dissipation. They were alike insensible to the beauties of nature, and to the pleasures of imagination; they had no taste for arts or sciences, for reading or instruction. Their only passion was amusement, and persons of all ages were fond of dancing at assemblies. This manner of life considerably increased the influence of the women, who were possessed of every attraction, except those soft emotions of the soul which alone constitute the merit and the charm of beauty. Lively, gay, and addicted to coquetry and gallantry, they were more fond of inspiring than feeling the tender passions. There appeared in both sexes a greater degree of devotion than virtue, more religion than probity, a higher sense of honour than of real honesty. Superstition took place of morality, which will always be the case wherever men are taught to believe that ceremonies

BOOK  
XVI.

B O O K nies will compensate for good works, and that  
 XVI. crimes are expiated by prayers.


 IDLENESS, prejudice and levity would never have gained such an ascendant in Canada, had the government been careful to turn the attention of the people to lasting and useful objects. But all the colonists were required to pay an implicit obedience to a mere military authority. They were unacquainted with the slow and sure process of laws. The will of the chief, or of his delegates, was an oracle, which they were not even at liberty to interpret; an awful decree, which they were to submit to without examination. Delays, representations, excuses of honour, were so many crimes in the eyes of a despotic ruler, who had usurped a power of punishing or absolving merely by his word. He had in his own power all favours and penalties, rewards and punishments; the right of imprisoning without the shadow of a crime, and the still more formidable right of enforcing a reverence for his decrees as so many acts of justice, though they were but the irregular sallies of his own caprice.

IN early times, this unlimited power was not exercised in matters of military discipline and political administration only, but extended even to civil jurisdiction. The governor decided absolutely and without appeal, all differences arising between the colonists. These contests were fortunately very rare, in a country where all things might almost be said to be in common. This dangerous authority

thority subsisted till 1663, at which period a tri-BOOK  
 bunal was erected in the capital for the definitive XVI.  
 trial of all causes depending throughout the colony. }  
 The custom of Paris, modified in conformity to  
 local circumstances, formed the code of their laws.

THIS code was not mutilated or disfigured by a  
 mixture of revenue laws. The administration of  
 the finances in Canada, only required a few fines  
 of alienation; a trifling contribution from the in-  
 habitants of Quebec and Montreal towards main-  
 taining the fortifications; and some duties upon  
 all goods imported and exported, which, indeed,  
 were too high. In 1747, all these several articles  
 brought no more than 260,200\* livres into the  
 treasury.

THE lands were not taxed by government, but  
 were not on that account entirely exempt from  
 taxes. A great error was committed at the first  
 settling of the colony, in granting to officers and  
 gentlemen a piece of land, from two to four  
 leagues in front, and unlimited in breadth.  
 These great proprietors, who were men of mo-  
 derate fortunes, and unskilled in agriculture, were  
 unable to manage such vast estates, and were  
 therefore, under a necessity of making over their  
 lands to soldiers or planters, upon condition that  
 they should pay them a kind of ground-rent or  
 homage for ever. This was introducing into  
 America something similar to the feudal govern-  
 ment, which was so long fatal to Europe. The  
 lord ceded ninety acres to each of his vassals, who



BOOK on their part engaged to work in his mill, to pay  
 XVI. him annually one or two sols per acre, and a  
 bushel and a half of corn for the entire grant. This tax, though but a small one, maintained a considerable number of idle people, at the expence of the only class with which a colony ought to have been peopled. The truly useful inhabitants who were engaged in laborious employments, found the burthen of maintaining an annuitant nobility increased, by the additional exactions of the clergy. In 1667, the tithes were imposed. They were, indeed, reduced to a twenty-sixth part of the crops, notwithstanding the clamours of that rapacious body; but still this was an oppression in a country where the clergy had property allotted them which was sufficient for their maintenance.

So many impediments previously opposed to the progress of agriculture, disabled the colony from paying for the necessaries that came from the mother country. The French ministry were at last so fully convinced of this truth, that after having always obstinately opposed the establishment of manufactures in America, they thought it their interest even to promote them in 1706. But those late encouragements had very little effect, and the united industry of the colonists could never produce more than a few coarse linens, and some very bad woollens.

THE fisheries were not much more attended to than the manufactures. The only one that could become an object of exportation was that of the seal. This animal has been ranked in the class of fish,

fish, though he is not dumb, is always produced B O O K  
 on land, and lives more on dry ground than in the XVI.  
 water. His head is somewhat like that of a mastiff. He has four paws which are very short, especially the hinder ones, which serve him rather to crawl than to walk upon. They are shaped like fins, but the fore feet have claws. His skin is hard and covered with short hair. He is at first white, but turns sandy or black, as he grows up. Sometimes he is of all these three different colours.

THERE are two different kinds of seals. The larger one sometimes weighs two thousand pounds, and seems to have a sharper snout than the others. The small ones, whose skin is commonly marbled, are active, and more dextrous in extricating themselves out of the snares that are laid for them. The Indians have the art of taming them so far as to make them follow them.

THEY couple upon the rocks, and sometimes on the ice, and it is there also that the dams bring forth their young. They commonly bear two, and they usually suckle them in the water, but more frequently on land. When they want to teach them to swim, it is said they carry them upon their backs, drop them now and then into the water, then take them up again, and proceed in this manner till they are strong enough to swim of themselves. Most little birds flutter about from spray to spray, before they venture to fly abroad; the eagle carries her young, to train them up to encounter the boisterous winds; it is not there-

B O O K fore surprising, that the seal produced on land,  
 XVI. should use her little ones to live under water.

THERE is a very simple manner of fishing for these amphibious animals; who are used, when they are in the sea to enter into the creeks with the tide. As soon as some place is discovered where they resort in shoals, it is surrounded with nets and flakes, only taking care to leave a little opening for them to get in. At high water this opening is stopped up, and when the tide is gone down, the fish remains on dry ground. All that is necessary is to kill them. Sometimes the fishermen get into a canoe, and follow them to their lurking places, where they fire upon them the moment they put their heads out of water to take in air. If they are only wounded, they are easily caught; if they are killed, they sink directly, but are fetched up by great dogs, that are trained up to dive for them seven or eight fathom under water.

THE skin of the seal was formerly used for muffs, but afterwards to cover trunks, and to make shoes and boots. When it is well tanned, the grain is not unlike that of Morocco leather. If it is not quite so fine, however it preserves its colour longer.

THE flesh of the seal is generally allowed to be good, but it turns to better account if it is boiled down to oil. For this purpose, it is sufficient to set it on the fire in a copper or earthen vessel. It is thought frequently sufficient to spread the fat upon large squares made of boards, where it melts  
 of



of itself, and the oil runs off through an opening BOOK  
 made for that purpose. It keeps clear for a long XVI.  
 time, has no bad smell, and leaves no sediment. }  
 It is used for burning and dressing leather.

FIVE or six small ships were fitted out yearly from Canada for the seal fishery in the gulph of St. Lawrence, and one or two less for the Caribbee islands. It received from the islands nine or ten vessels laden with rum, molasses, coffee, and sugar; and from France about thirty ships, whose lading together might amount to nine thousand tons.

IN the interval between the two last wars, which was the most flourishing period of the colony, the exports did not exceed 1,200,000\* livres in furs; 800,000† in beaver, 250,000‡ in seal oil, the same in flour and peas, and 150,000 § in wood of all kinds. These several articles put together, amounted but to 2,650,000 livres || a year, a sum insufficient to pay for the commodities sent from the mother country. The government made up the deficiency.

WHEN the French were in possession of Canada, they had very little specie. The little that was brought in from time to time by the new settlers, did not continue in the country, because the necessitous state of the colony soon occasioned it to return. This was a great obstacle to the progress of commerce and agriculture. In 1670, the court of Versailles coined a particular sort of money for the use of all the French settlements in

	F 3	America,
* 52,500l.	† 35,000l.	‡ 10,937l. 10s.
§ 6,562l. 10s.	115,937l. 10s.	

BOOK America, and set a nominal value upon it, one  
 XVI. fourth above the current coin of the mother country. But this expedient was not productive of the advantages that were expected, at least with regard to New France. They, therefore, contrived to substitute paper currency instead of metal, for the payment of the troops, and other expences of government. This succeeded till the year 1713, when the engagements that had been made with the administrators of the colony were not faithfully observed. Their bills of exchange drawn upon the treasury of the mother country were not honoured, and from that time fell into discredit. They were at last paid off in 1720, with the loss of five-eighths.

THIS event occasioned the revival of the use of specie in Canada; but this expedient lasted only two years. The merchants found it troublesome, chargeable and hazardous to send money to France, and so did all the colonies who had any remittances to make; so that they were the first to solicit the re-establishment of paper-currency. This consisted of cards, on which were stamped the arms of France and Navarre, and they were signed by the governor, the intendant and the comptroller. They were of twenty-four\*, twelve†, six‡, and three livres §; and of thirty||, fifteen\*\*, and seven sols and a half ††. The value of the whole number that was made out, did not exceed a million

\* 1l. 1s.      † 10s. 6d.      ‡ 5s. 3d.      § 2s. 7d.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .  
 || 1s. 3d.  $\frac{3}{4}$ .      \*\* 7d.  $\frac{2}{3}$ ths.      †† 3d.  $\frac{3}{4}$ .

lion of livres\*. When this sum was not suffi- BOOK  
 cient for the demands of the public, the defi- XVI.  
 ciency was made up by orders signed only by the  
 intendant. This was the first abuse; but one  
 of still greater consequence was that their number  
 was unlimited. The smallest were of twenty sols†,  
 and the highest of a hundred livres ‡. These dif-  
 ferent papers circulated in the colony, and sup-  
 plied the want of specie till the month of Octo-  
 ber. This was the latest season for the ships to  
 sail from Canada. Then all this paper-currency  
 was turned into bills of exchange payable in  
 France by the government, which was supposed  
 to have made use of the value. But they were so  
 multiplied by the year 1754, that the royal trea-  
 sury could no longer answer such large demands,  
 and was forced to protract the payment. An un-  
 fortunate war that broke out two years after, so  
 increased their number, that at last they were pro-  
 hibited. This presently raised the price of all  
 commodities to an immoderate degree; and as,  
 on account of the enormous expences of the war,  
 the king was the chief consumer, he alone bore  
 the loss arising from the discarded paper, and from  
 the dearness of the goods. In 1759, the ministry  
 were obliged to stop payment of the Canada bills,  
 till their origin and their real value could be  
 traced. They amounted to an alarming number.

THE annual expences of government for Cana-  
 da, which in 1729 did not exceed 400,000 li-

F 4 vres,

\* 43,750l.

† 10d.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

‡ 4l. 7s. 6d.



BOOK vres\*, and before 1749 never were greater than XVI. 1,700,000†, were immense after that period.

The year 1750 cost 2,100,000‡, the year 1751, 2,700,000§; the year 1752, 4,090,000||; the year 1753, 5,300,000\*\*; the year 1754, 4,450,000††; the year 1755, 6,100,000‡‡; the year 1756, 11,300,000§§; the year 1757, 19,250,000|||; the year 1758, 27,900,000\*\*\*; the year 1759, 26,000,000†††; the first eight months of the years 1760, 13,500,000‡‡‡. Of these prodigious sums, ninety millions §§§ were owing at the peace.

THIS infamous debt was traced up to its origin, and the enormities that had given rise to it were inquired into, as far as the distance of time and place would allow. The greatest delinquents, who were become so in consequence of the unlimited power and credit given by the government, were legally condemned to make considerable restitutions. They were however still too moderate. The claims of private creditors were all discussed. Fortunately for them and for the nation, the ministry intrusted with this important and necessary business, were men of known integrity; who were not to be intimidated by the threats of power, nor bribed by the offers of fortune; who could not be imposed upon by artifice, nor wearied out by difficulties. By steadily and impartially

* 17,500l.	† 74,375l.	‡ 91,875l.	§ 118,125l.
178,937l. 10s.	** 231,875l.	†† 194,687l. 10s.	
‡‡ 266,875l.	§§ 494,375l.	842,187l.	*** 1,220,625l.
††† 1,137,500l.	‡‡‡ 590,625l.	§§§ 3,500,000l.	

ally holding an even balance between the interest of the public and the rights of individuals, they reduced the sum total of the debts to thirty-eight millions.\*

It was the fault of France if Canada was not worth the immense sums that were bestowed upon it. It had long since appeared that this vast region was every where capable of yielding prodigious crops, yet no more was cultivated than what was barely sufficient for the sustenance of the inhabitants. With moderate labour corn enough might have been raised to supply all the American islands, and even some parts of Europe. It is well known than in 1751, the colony sent over two ship-loads of wheat to Marseilles, which proved very good, and sold very well. This exportation ought to have met with the greater encouragement, as the crops are liable to few accidents in that country, where the corn is sown in May, and gathered in before the end of August.

Advantages which France might have derived from Canada. Errors which have deprived her of them.

If husbandry had been encouraged and extended, the breed of cattle would have been increased. There is such plenty of pasture ground, and of acorns, that the colonies might easily have bred oxen and hogs, sufficient to supply the French islands with beef and pork, without having recourse to Irish beef. Possibly, these cattle might in time have increased sufficiently to supply the ships of the mother country.

THEIR

BOOK THEIR sheep, which are easily bred in Canada,  
 XVI. would have been no less advantageous to France.

— If their number were not considerable in a country where the dams commonly bear twins, it was owing to the ewes being left at all seasons with the ram; and as they generally brought forth in February, the severity of the weather destroyed a great many lambs; the inhabitants being also obliged to feed them with corn, found this so chargeable, that they did not much care to rear them. This might have been prevented by a law, enjoining all farmers to part the rams from the ewes from September to February. The lambs dropped in May would have been reared without any expence or hazard, and in a short time the colony would have been covered with numerous flocks. Their wool which is known to be very fine and good, would have supplied the manufactures of France, instead of that which is imported from Andalusia and Castile. The state would have been enriched by this valuable commodity; and in return, the colony would have received variety of new and desirable articles from the mother country.

THE Gin-seng would have been a great acquisition to both. This plant, which the Chinese procure from the Corea, or from Tartary, and which they buy at the weight of gold, was found in 1720, by the Jesuit Lafitau, in the forests of Canada, where it grows very common. It was soon carried to Canton, where it was much esteem-

ed,



ed, and sold at an extravagant price. The Gin-BOOK  
 feng, which at first sold at Quebec for thirty or XVI.  
 forty sols \* a pound, rose to twenty-five livres †.  
 In 1752, the Canadians exported this plant to the  
 value of 500,000 livres ‡. There was such a de-  
 mand for it, that they were induced to gather in  
 May what ought not to have been gathered till Sep-  
 tember, and to dry in the oven what should have  
 been dried gradually in the shade. This spoilt  
 the sale of the Gin-feng of Canada in the only  
 country in the world where it could find a mar-  
 ket; and the colonists were severely punished for  
 their excessive rapaciousness, by the total loss of a  
 branch of commerce, which, if rightly managed,  
 might have proved a source of opulence.

ANOTHER and a surer plan for the encourage-  
 ment of industry, was the working of the iron  
 mines which abound in those parts. The only one  
 that has ever attracted the notice of the Europe-  
 ans, lies near the town of the Trois Rivieres; and  
 was discovered near the surface of the ground.  
 There are no mines that yield a greater quantity,  
 and the best in Spain are not superior to it for the  
 pliability of the metal. A smith from Europe,  
 who came thither in 1739, greatly improved the  
 working of this mine, which till then had been  
 but unskilfully managed. From that time no  
 other iron was used in the colony. They even ex-  
 ported some samples; but France would not be  
 con-

\* About 1s. 6d. on an average.

† 1l. 1s. 10d.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

‡ 21,875l.

BOOK convinced that this iron was the best for fire-  
 XVI. arms. The scheme that was in agitation of making  
 use of this iron would have been very favourable  
 to the project which, after much irresolution had  
 at last been adopted, of forming a naval establish-  
 ment in Canada.

THE first Europeans who landed on that vast re-  
 gion, found it entirely covered with forests. The  
 principal trees were oaks of prodigious height,  
 and pines of all sizes. These woods when felled  
 might have been conveyed with ease down the ri-  
 ver St. Lawrence, and the numberless rivers that  
 fall into it. By an unaccountable fatality, all these  
 treasures were overlooked or despised. At length  
 the court of Versailles thought proper to attend  
 to them. They gave orders for erecting docks at  
 Quebec for building men of war, but unfortu-  
 nately trusted the business to agents, who had no-  
 thing in view but their own private interest.

THE timber should have been felled upon the  
 hills, where the cold air hardens the wood by con-  
 tracting its fibres; whereas it was constantly  
 fetched from marshy grounds, and from the banks  
 of the rivers, where the moisture gives it a looser  
 and a richer texture. Instead of conveying it in  
 barges, they floated it down on rafts to the place  
 of its destination, where being forgotten and left  
 in the water, it gathered a kind of moss that  
 rotted it. Instead of being put under sheds when  
 it was landed, it was left exposed to the sun in  
 summer, to the snow in winter, and the rains in  
 spring.

spring and autumn. From thence it was conveyed B O O K  
 into the dock yards, where it again sustained the XVI.  
 inclemency of the seasons for two or three years. }  
 Negligence or dishonesty enhanced the price of  
 every thing to such a degree, that sails, ropes,  
 pitch and tar were imported from Europe into a  
 country which, with a little industry, might have  
 supplied the whole kingdom of France with all  
 these materials. This bad management had  
 brought the wood of Canada entirely into disre-  
 pute, and effectually ruined the resources which  
 that country afforded for the navy.

THE colony furnished the manufactures of the  
 mother country with a branch of business that  
 might almost be called an exclusive one, which  
 was the preparation of the beaver. This commo-  
 dity at first was subjected to the oppressive re-  
 straints of monopoly. The India company could  
 not but make an ill use of their privilege, and  
 really did so. What they bought of the Indians  
 was chiefly paid for in English scarlet cloths,  
 which those people were very fond of wearing.  
 But as they could make twenty-five or thirty per-  
 cent. more of their commodities in the English  
 settlements than the company chose to give, they  
 carried thither all they could conceal from the  
 search of the company agents, and exchanged  
 their beaver for English cloth and India callicoe.  
 Thus did France, by the abuse of an institution  
 which she was by no means obliged to maintain,  
 deprive herself of the double advantage of fur-  
 nishing



BOOK XVI. nishing materials to some of her own manufac-  
 tures, and of securing a market for the produce of  
 others. She was equally ignorant of the facility  
 of establishing a whale fishery in Canada.

THE chief sources of this fishery are Davis's  
 Streights and Greenland. Fifty ships come every  
 year into the former of these latitudes, and a hun-  
 dred and fifty into the later. The Dutch are  
 concerned in more than three fourths of them.  
 The rest are fitted out from Bremen, Hamburgh  
 and England. It is computed that the whole ex-  
 pence of fitting out 200 ships of 350 tons bur-  
 den, upon an average must amount to 10,000,000  
 of livres.\* The usual produce of each is rated  
 at 80,000 livres †, and consequently the whole  
 amount of the fishery cannot be less than  
 3,200,000 livres. ‡ If we deduct from this the  
 profits of the seamen who are employed in these  
 hard and dangerous voyages, very little remains  
 for the merchants concerned in this trade.

THESE circumstances have by degrees influenced  
 the Biscayans to discontinue a trade, in which  
 they were the first adventurers. Other French-  
 men have not been induced to take it up, inso-  
 much that the whole fishery has been totally  
 abandoned by that nation, which of all others  
 consumed the greatest quantity of blubber, whale-  
 bone and spermaceti. Many proposals have been  
 made for resuming it in Canada. There was the  
 finest prospect of a plentiful fishery in the river

St.

\* 437,500l.

† 3,500l.

‡ 140,000l.

St. Lawrence, attended with less danger and less expence than at Davis's Streights or Greenland. It has ever been the fate of this colony, that the best schemes relative to it have been unsuccessful; and this in particular, of a whale fishery, which would not have failed to excite the activity of the colonists, and would have proved an excellent nursery for seamen, has never met with the countenance of government.

THE same remissness has baffled the scheme, so often planned, and twice or thrice attempted, of fishing for cod on both sides of the river St. Lawrence. Very possibly the success would not have fully answered the expectations of those who proposed it, as the fish is but indifferent, and proper beaches are wanting to dry it. But the gulph would have made ample amends. It abounds with cod, which might have been carried to Newfoundland or Louisbourg, and advantageously bartered for the productions of the Caribbee islands and for European commodities. Every circumstance conspired to promote the prosperity of the settlements in Canada, if they had been assisted by the men who seemed to be most interested in them. But whence could proceed that inconceivable want of industry, which suffered them to remain in the same wretched state they were in at first?

It must be confessed some obstacles arose from the very nature of the climate. The river St. Lawrence is frozen up for six months in the year.

At

BOOK At other times it is not navigable by night, on  
 XVI. account of the thick fogs, rapid currents, sand-  
 banks, and concealed rocks, which make it even  
 dangerous by day-light. These difficulties in-  
 crease from Quebec to Montreal to such a degree,  
 that sailing is quite impracticable, and rowing so  
 difficult, that from the Trois Rivieries, where the  
 tide ends, the oars cannot resist the violence of  
 the current, without the assistance of a very fair  
 wind, and then only during a month or six weeks.  
 From Montreal to the Lake Ontario, traders  
 meet with no less than six water-falls, which  
 oblige them to unload their canoes, and to con-  
 vey them and their lading a considerable way by  
 land.

FAR from encouraging men to surmount the  
 difficulties of nature, a misinformed government  
 planned none but ruinous schemes. To gain the  
 advantage over the English in the fur trade, they  
 erected three and thirty forts, at a great distance  
 from each other. The building and victualling  
 of them diverted the Canadians from the only la-  
 bours that ought to have engrossed their attention.  
 This error engaged them in an arduous and peri-  
 lous track.

It was not without some uneasiness that the In-  
 dians saw the formation of these settlements,  
 which might endanger their liberty. Their suspi-  
 cions induced them to take up arms, so that the  
 colony was seldom free from war. Necessity made  
 all the Canadians soldiers. Their manly and mili-  
 tary



tary education rendered them hardy from their youth, and fearless of danger. Before they had arrived to the age of manhood, they would traverse a vast continent in the summer time in canoes, and in winter on foot, through ice and snow. Having nothing but their gun to procure subsistence with, they were in continual danger of starving; but they were under no apprehension, not even of falling into the hands of the savages, who had exerted all the efforts of their imagination in inventing tortures for their enemies, for worse than death.

THE sedentary arts of peace, and the constant labours of agriculture, had no attraction for men accustomed to an active but wandering life. The court, which forms no idea of the sweets or the utility of rural life, increased the aversion which the Canadians had conceived for it, by bestowing all their favours and honours upon military actions alone. The distinction that was chiefly lavished was that of nobility, which was attended with the most fatal consequences. It not only plunged the Canadians in idleness, but also inspired them with an unconquerable passion for every thing that was splendid. Profits which ought to have been kept sacred for the improvement of the lands, were laid out in ornament, and a real poverty was concealed under the trappings of destructive luxury.

SUCH was the state of the colony in 1747, when La Galissoniere was appointed governor. He was a man possessed of very extensive knowledge, ac-

Origin of the wars between the English and the French in Canada.

tive

BOOK XVI. tive and resolute, and of a courage the more steady, as it was the effect of reason. The

English wanted to extend the limits of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, as far as the south side of the river St Lawrence. He thought this an unjust claim, and was determined to confined them within the peninsula, which he apprehended to be the boundary settled even by treaties. Their ambition of ineroaching on the inland parts, particularly towards the Ohio, or Fair river, he likewise thought unreasonable. He was of opinion that the Apalachian mountains ought to be the limits of their possessions, and was fully determined they should not pass them. His successor, who was appointed while he was preparing the means of accomplishing this vast design, entered into his views with all the warmth they deserved. Numbers of forts were immediately erected on all sides, to support the system which the court had adopted, perhaps, without foreseeing, or, at least, without sufficiently attending to the consequences.

AT this period began those hostilities between the English and the French in North America, which were rather countenanced than openly avowed by the respective mother countries. This clandestine mode of carrying on the war was perfectly agreeable to the ministry at Versailles, as it afforded an opportunity of recovering by degrees, and without exposing their weakness, what they had lost by treaties, at a time when the enemy had

had imposed their own terms. These repeated checks at last opened the eyes of Great Britain, and disclosed the political designs of her rival. BOOK  
XVI.

George II. thought that a clandestine war was inconsistent with the superiority of his maritime forces. His ships were ordered to attack those of the French in all parts of the world. The English accordingly took or dispersed all the French ships they met with, and in 1758, steered towards Cape-Breton.

THIS island, the key of Canada, had already been attacked in 1745, and the event is of so singular a nature, that it deserves a particular detail. Conquest  
of Cape-  
Breton by  
the Eng-  
lish. The plan of this first invasion was laid at Boston, and New England bore the expence of it. A merchant, named Pepperel, who had excited, encouraged and directed the enthusiasm of the colony, was intrusted with the command of an army of 6000 men, which had been levied for this expedition.

THOUGH these forces, convoyed by a squadron from Jamaica, brought the first news to Cape Breton of the danger that threatened it; though the advantage of a surprize would have secured the landing without opposition; though they had but 600 regular troops to encounter, and 800 inhabitants hastily armed, the success of the undertaking was still precarious. What great exploits, indeed could be expected from a militia suddenly assembled, who had never seen a siege or faced an enemy, and were to act under the direction of sea-



BOOK officers only. These unexperienced troops stood  
 XVI. in need of the assistance of some fortunate in-  
 cident, which they were indeed favoured with in a  
 singular manner.

THE construction and repairs of the fortifications had always been left to the care of the garrison of Louisbourg. The soldiers were eager of being employed in these works, which they considered as conducive to their safety, and as the means of procuring them a comfortable subsistence. When they found that those who were to have paid them, appropriated to themselves the profit of their labours, they demanded justice. It was denied them, and they determined to assert their right. As these depredations had been shared between the chief persons of the colony and the subaltern officers, the soldiers could obtain no redress. Their indignation against these rapacious extortioners rose to such a height that they despised all authority. They had lived in open rebellion for six months, when the English appeared before the place.

THIS was the time to conciliate the minds of both parties, and to unite in the common cause. The soldiers made the first advances; but their commanders mistrusted a generosity of which they themselves were incapable. Had these mean oppressors conceived it possible that the soldiers could have entertained such elevated notions as to sacrifice their own resentment to the good of their country, they would have taken advantage of this disposition,

disposition, and have fallen upon the enemy while they were forming their camp and beginning to open their trenches. Besiegers unacquainted with the principles of the art of war, would have been disconcerted by regular and vigorous attacks. The first checks might have been sufficient to discourage them, and to make them relinquish the undertaking. But it was firmly believed that the soldiers were only desirous of sallying out, that they might have an opportunity of deserting; and their own officers kept them in a manner prisoners, till a defence so ill-managed had reduced them to the necessity of capitulating. The whole island shared the fate of Louisbourg, its only bulwark.

THIS valuable possession, restored to France by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, was again attacked by the English in 1758. On the 2d of June, a fleet of twenty-three ships of the line and eighteen frigates, carrying 16,000 well-disciplined troops, anchored in Gabarus bay, within half a league of Louisbourg. As it was evident that it would be to no purpose to land at a great distance, because it would be impossible to bring up the artillery and other necessaries for a considerable siege, it had been attempted to render the landing impracticable near the town. In the prudent precautions that had been taken, the besiegers saw the dangers and difficulties they had to expect; but far from being deterred by them, they had recourse to stratagem, and while by extending their line they

BOOK threatened and commanded the whole coast, they  
 XVI. landed by force of arms at the creek of Cor-  
 moran.

THIS place was naturally weak. The French had fortified it with a good parapet planted with cannon. Behind this rampart they had posted 2000 excellent soldiers and some Indians. In front they had made such a close hedge with branches of trees, that would have been very difficult to penetrate, even if it had not been defended. This kind of pallisade, which concealed all the preparations for defence, appeared at a distance to be nothing more than a verdant plain.

THIS would have preserved the colony, had the assailants been suffered to complete their landing, and to advance with the confidence, that they had but few obstacles to surmount. Had this been the case, overpowered at once by the fire of the artillery and the small arms, they would infallibly have perished on the shore, or in the hurry of embarking; especially as the sea was just then very rough. This unexpected loss might have interrupted the whole project.

BUT all the prudent precautions that had been taken, were rendered abortive by the impetuosity of the French. The English had scarce begun to move towards the shore, when their enemies hastened to discover the snare they had laid for them. By the brisk and hasty fire that was aimed at their boats, and still more by the premature removal



of the boughs that masked the forces, which it was BOOK so much the interest of the French to conceal, XVI. they guessed at the danger they were going to rush into. They immediately turned back, and saw no other place to effect their landing but a rock, which had been always deemed inaccessible. General Wolf, though much taken up in re-imbarking his troops, and sending off the boats, gave the signal to Major Scot to repair thither.

THE officer immediately removed to the spot with his men. His own boat coming up first, and sinking at the very instant he was stepping out, he climbed up the rock alone. He was in hopes of meeting with a hundred of his men who had been sent thither some hours before. He found only ten. With these few, however, he gained the summit of the rock. Ten Indians and sixty Frenchman killed two of his men, and mortally wounded three. In spite of his weakness, he stood his ground under cover of a thicket, till his brave countrymen, regardless of the boisterous waves and the fire of the cannon, came up to him, and put him in full possession of that important post, the only one that could secure their landing.

THE French, as soon as they saw that the enemy had got a firm footing on land, betook themselves to the only remaining refuge, and shut themselves up in Louisbourg. The fortifications were in a bad condition, because the sea sand, which they had been obliged to use, is by no means fit for

B O O K works of masonry. The revetements of the several curtains were entirely crumbled away.

XVI. } There was only one casemate and a small magazine that were bomb proof. The garrison which was to defend the place consisted only of 2,900 men.

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, the besieged were determined to make an obstinate resistance. While they were employed in defending themselves with so much firmness, the succours they expected from Canada might possibly arrive. At all events this resistance might be the means of preserving that great colony from all further invasion for the remainder of the campaign. It is scarce credible that the French were confirmed in their resolution by the courage of a woman. Madame de Drucourt was continually upon the ramparts, with her purse in her hand; and firing herself three guns every day, seemed to dispute with the governor her husband the glory of his office. The besieged were not dismayed at the ill success of their several sallies, or the masterly operations concerted by admiral Boscawen and general Amherst. It was but at the eve of an assault, which it was impossible to sustain, that they talked of surrendering. They made an honourable capitulation, and the conqueror shewed more respect for his enemy and for himself, than to sully his glory by any act of barbarity or avarice.

THE conquest of Cape Breton opened the way B O O K into Canada. The very next year the seat of war XVI. was removed thither, or rather the scenes of bloodshed which had long been acted over that immense country were multiplied. The cause of these proceedings was this. The English attack Canada.

THE French, settled in those parts, had carried their ambitious views towards the north, where the finest furs were to be had, and in the greatest plenty. When this vein of wealth was exhausted, or yielded less than it did at first, their trade turned southward, where they discovered the Ohio, to which they gave the name of the Fair river. It laid open the natural communication between Canada and Louisiana. For though the ships that sail up the river St. Lawrence go no further than Quebec, the navigation is carried on in barges to lake Ontario, which is only parted from lake Erie by a neck of land, where the French upon their first settling built Fort Niagara. It is on this spot, in the neighbourhood of lake Erie, that the source of the river Ohio is found, which waters the finest country in the world, and increasing by the many rivers that fall into it, discharges itself into the Mississippi.

THE French however made no use of this magnificent canal. The trifling intercourse that subsisted between the two colonies was always carried on by the northern regions. The new way, which was much shorter and easier than the old, first began to be frequented by a body of troops that



BOOK XVI. that were sent over to Canada in 1739, to assist the colony of Louisiana, then engaged in an open war with the Indians. After this expedition, the southern road was again forgotten, and was never thought of till the year 1753. At that period, several small forts were erected along the Ohio, the course of which had been traced for four years past. The most considerable of these forts took its name from governor Duquesne who built it.

THE English colonies could not see without concern French settlements raised behind them, which joined with the old ones, and seemed to surround them. They were apprehensive lest the Apalachian mountains, which were to form the natural boundaries between both nations, should not prove a sufficient barrier against the attempts of a restless and warlike neighbour. Urged by this motive, they themselves passed these famous mountains, to dispute the possession of the Ohio with the rival nation. This first step proved unsuccessful. The several parties that were successively sent out, were routed; and the forts were demolished as fast as they built them.


To put an end to these national affronts, and revenge the disgrace they reflected on the mother country, a large body of troops was sent over, under the command of General Braddock. In the summer of 1755, as this general was marching to attack Fort Duquesne with 36 pieces of cannon and 600 men, he was surpris'd, within four leagues

gues of the place, by 250 Frenchmen and 650 B O O K  
 Indians, and all his army cut to pieces. This un- XVI.  
 accountable difaster put a stop to the march of  
 three numerous bodies that were advancing to fall  
 upon Canada. The terror occasioned by this ac-  
 cident, made them hasten back to their quarters,  
 and in the next campaign, all their motions were  
 guided by the most timorous caution.

THE French were emboldened by this per-  
 plexity, and though very much inferior to them,  
 ventured to appear before Oswego in August  
 1756. It was originally a fortified magazine at  
 the mouth of the river Onondago on the lake On-  
 tario. It stood nearly in the center of Canada, in  
 so advantageous a situation, that many works had  
 from time to time been erected there, which had  
 rendered it one of the capital posts in those parts.  
 It was garrisoned by 1800 men, with 121 pieces  
 of cannon, and great plenty of stores of all kinds.  
 Though so well provided it surrendered in a few  
 days, to the impetuous and bold attacks of 3000  
 men who were laying siege to it.

IN August 1757, 5500 French and 1800 In-  
 dians maached up to Fort George, situated on  
 lakē Sacrament, which was justly considered as  
 the bulwark of English Settlements, and the  
 rendezvous of all the forces destined against Ca-  
 nada. Nature and art had conspired to block up  
 the roads leading to that place, and to make all  
 access impracticable. These advantages were fur-  
 ther strengthened by several bodies of troops,  
 placed

BOOK placed at proper distances in the best positions.

XVI. Yet these obstacles were surmounted with such  prudence and intrepidity, as would have been memorable in history, had the scene of action lain in a more distinguished spot. The French, after killing or dispersing all the small parties they met with, arrived before the place, and forced the garrison, consisting of 2264 men, to capitulate.

THIS fresh disaster rouzed the English. Their generals applied themselves during the winter to the training up of their men, and bringing the several troops under a proper discipline. They made them exercise in the woods, in fighting after the Indian manner. In the spring, the army, consisting of 6300 regulars and 13,000 militia belonging to the colonies, assembled on the ruins of Fort George. They embarked on lake Sacrament, which parted the colonies of both nations, and marched up to Carillon, distant but four leagues.

THAT fort which had been but lately erected on the breaking out of the war, was not of sufficient size to withstand the forces that were marching against it. Intrenchments were formed hastily under the cannon of the fort, with stems of trees heaped up one upon another, and large trees were laid in front, whose branches being cut and sharpened, answered the purpose of chevaux de frise. The colours were planted on the top of the ramparts, behind which lay 3500 men.

THE English were not dismayed at these formidable apperances, being fully determined to  
remove



remove the disgrace of their former miscarriages B O O K  
 in a country where the prosperity of their trade XVI.  
 depended on the success of their arms. On the 8th of July 1758, they rushed upon these palisades with the most extravagant fury. Neither were they disconcerted by the French firing upon them from the top of the parapet, while they were unable to defend themselves. They fell upon the sharp spikes, and were entangled among the stumps and boughs through which their eagerness had made them rush. All these losses served but to increase their impetuous rage, which continued upwards of four hours, and cost them above 4000 of their brave men before they would give up this rash and desperate undertaking.

THEY were equally unsuccessful in smaller actions. They did not attack one post without meeting with a repulse. Every party they sent out was beaten, and every convoy intercepted. The severity of the winter might have been supposed to secure them, but even in this rigorous season the Indians and Canadians carried fire and sword to the frontiers, and into the very heart of the English colonies.

ALL these disasters were owing to a false principle of government. The English minister had always entertained a notion that the superiority of their navy was alone sufficient to assert their dominion in America, as it afforded a ready conveyance for succours, and could easily intercept the enemy's forces.

THOUGH

BOOK XVI. **T**HOUGH experience had shewn the fallacy of  
 a proper choice of generals, to rectify the fatal effects it had produced. Almost all those who were employed in this service were deficient in point of abilities and activity.

**T**HE armies were not likely to make amends for the defects of their commanders. The troops indeed were not wanting in that daring spirit and invincible courage, which is the characteristic of the English soldiers, arising from the climate, and still more from the nature of their government; but these national qualities were counterbalanced or extinguished by the hardships they underwent, in a country destitute of all the conveniencies that Europe affords. As to the militia of the colonies, it was composed of peaceable husbandmen, who were not, like most of the French colonists, inured to slaughter by a habit of hunting, and by military ardor.

To these disadvantages, arising from the nature of things, were added others altogether owing to misconduct. The posts erected for the safety of the several English settlements, were not so contrived as to support and assist each other. The provinces having all separate interests, and not being united under the authority of one head, did not concur in those joint efforts for the good of the whole, and that unanimity of sentiments, which alone can insure the success of their measures. The season of action was wasted in vain altercations

tions between the governors and the colonists. BOOK  
 Every plan of operation that met with opposition XVI.  
 from any set of men was dropped. If any one was }  
 agreed upon, it was certainly made public before  
 the execution, and by that means rendered abortive. To this may be added, the irreconcilable hatred subsisting between them and the Indians.

THESE nations had always shewn a visible partiality for the French, in return for the kindness they had shewn them in sending them missionaries, whom they considered rather as ambassadors from the prince, than as sent from God. These missionaries, by studying the language of the savages, conforming to their temper and inclinations, and putting in practice every attention to gain their confidence, had acquired an absolute dominion over their minds. The French colonists, far from communicating the European manners, had adopted those of the savages they lived with: their indolence in time of peace, their activity in war, and their constant fondness for a wandering life. Several officers of distinction had even been incorporated with them. The hatred and jealousy of the English has traduced them on this account, and they have not scrupled to assert that these generous men had given money for the skulls of their enemies, that they joined in the horrid dances that accompany the execution of their prisoners, imitated their cruelties, and partook of their barbarous festivals. But these enormities would be better adapted to people who have substituted national



B O O K nal to religious fanaticism, and are more inclined  
 XVI. to hate other nations than to love their own go-  
 vernment.

THE strong attachment of the Indians to the French was productive of the most inveterate hatred against the English. Of all the European savages, these were in their opinion, the hardest to tame. Their aversion soon rose to madness; and they even thirsted for English blood, when they found that a reward was offered for their destruction, and that they were to be expelled their native land by foreign assassins. The same hands which had enriched the English colony with their furs, now took up the hatchet to destroy it. The Indians pursued the English with as much eagerness as they did the wild beasts. Glory was no longer their aim in battle, their only object was slaughter. They destroyed armies which the French only wished to subdue. Their fury rose to such a height, that an English prisoner having been conducted into a lonely habitation, the woman immediately cut off his arm, and made her family drink the blood that ran from it. A missionary Jesuit reproaching her with the atrociousness of the action, her answer was; *my children must be warriors, and therefore must be fed with the blood of their enemies.*

Taking of  
 Quebec  
 the Eng-  
 lish.

SUCH was the state of things, when an English fleet entered the river St. Lawrence in June 1759. It had no sooner anchored at the isle of Orleans, than eight fire ships were sent off to destroy it.

Had

Had they executed their orders, not a ship or a BOOK man would have escaped; but the captains who XVI. conducted the affair were seized with a panic. They set fire to their vessels too soon, and hurried back to land in their boats. The assailants had seen their danger at a distance, but were delivered from it by this accident, and from that moment the conquest of Canada became almost certain.

THE British flag soon appeared before Quebec. The design was to land there, and to get a firm footing in the neighbourhood of the town, in order to lay siege to it. But they found the banks of the river so well intrenched, and so well defended by troops and redoubts, that their first endeavours were fruitless. Every attempt to land was attended with the loss of many lives, without being productive of any advantage. They had persisted for six weeks in these unsuccessful endeavours, when at last they had the singular good fortune to land unperceived on the 12th of September, an hour before break of day, three miles above the town. Their army, consisting of 6000 men, was already drawn up in order of battle, when it was attacked the next day by a corps that was weaker by one third. For some time ardour supplied the want of numbers. At last, French vivacity gave up the victory to the enemy, who had lost the intrepid Wolf their general, but did not lose their confidence and resolution.

THIS was gaining a considerable advantage, but it might not have been decisive. The troops

B O O K that were posted within a few leagues of the field  
 XVI. of battle, might have been collected in twelve  
 hours, to join the vanquished army, and march up  
 to the conqueror with a superior force. This was  
 the opinion of the French general Montcalm, who  
 being mortally wounded in the retreat, had time  
 enough before he expired, to consult the safety of  
 his men, and to encourage them to repair their  
 disaster. This generous motion was over-ruled  
 by the council of war. They removed ten leagues  
 off. The Chevalier de Levy, who had hastened  
 from his post to replace Montcalm, censured this  
 want of courage. The French were ashamed of  
 it, wished to recall it, and make another attempt  
 for victory, but it was too late. Quebec, three  
 parts destroyed by the firing from the ships, had  
 capitulated on the 17th.

ALL Europe thought the taking of this place  
 had put an end to the great contest in North  
 America. They never imagined that a handful of  
 Frenchmen, in want of every thing, who seemed  
 to be in a desperate condition would dare to think  
 of protracting their inevitable fate. They did not  
 know what these people were capable of doing.  
 They hastily completed some intrenchments that  
 had been begun ten leagues above Quebec. There  
 they left troops sufficient to stop the progress of  
 the enemy; and proceeded to Montreal, to con-  
 cert measures to retrieve their disgrace.

IT was there agreed that in the spring they  
 should march with an armed force against Que-  
 bec,



bec, to retake it by surprize, or if that should fail, B O O K  
 to besiege it in form. They had nothing in readi- XVI.  
 ness for that purpose, but the plan was so concert- }  
 ed, that they should enter upon the undertaking  
 just at the instant when the succours expected from  
 France must necessarily arrive.

THOUGH the colony had long been in want of every thing, the preparations were already made, when the ice, which covered the whole river, began to give way towards the middle, and opened a small canal. They dragged some boats over the ice, and put them into the water. The army, consisting of citizens and soldiers, who made but one body, and were animated with one soul, fell down this stream, with inconceivable ardour, on the 12th of April 1760. The English thought they still lay quiet in their winter quarters. The army, already landed, came up with an advanced guard of 1500 men, posted three leagues from Quebec. This party was just upon the point of being cut to pieces, had it not been for one of those unaccountable incidents, which no human prudence can foresee.

A gunner, attempting to step out of his boat, had fallen into the water. He caught hold of a flake of ice, climbed up upon it, and was carried down the stream. As he passed by Quebec, close to the shore, he was seen by a centinel, who observing a man in distress, called out for help. The English flew to his assistance, and found him motionless. They knew him by his uniform to be a

BOOK  
 XVI. French soldier, and carried him to the governor's house, where by the help of spirituous liquors, they recalled him to life for a moment. He just recovered his speech enough to tell them that an army of 10,000 French was at the gates, and expired. The governor immediately dispatched orders to the advanced guard to retire within the walls with all expedition. Notwithstanding their precipitate retreat, the French had time to attack their rear. A few moments later, they would have been defeated, and the city retaken.

THE assailants however marched on with an intrepidity which indicated that they expected every thing from their valour, and thought no more of a surprise. They were within a league of the town, when they were met by a body of 4000 men, who were sent out to intercept them. The onset was sharp, and the resistance obstinate. The English were driven back within their walls, leaving 1800 of their bravest men upon the spot, and their artillery in the enemy's hands.

THE trenches were immediately opened before Québec; but as the French had none but field-pieces, as no succours came from France, and as a strong English squadron was coming up the river, they were obliged to raise the siege on the 16th of May, and to retreat from post to post till they arrived at Montreal. These troops, which were not very numerous at first, were now exceedingly reduced by frequent skirmishes and continual fatigues, were in want both of provisions and warlike stores, and found

found themselves inclosed in an open place; being surrounded by three formidable armies, one of which was come down, and another up the river, while the third had passed over lake Champlain. These miserable remains of a body of 7000 men, who had never been recruited, and had so much signalized themselves with the help of a few Militia and Indians, were at last forced to capitulate for the whole colony. The conquest was confirmed by the treaty of peace, when this country was added to the possessions of the English in North-America.

B O O K  
XVI.

THE acquisition of an immense territory is not, however, the only advantage that Great Britain could derive from the success of her arms. The considerable population she has found there is of still greater importance. Some of these numerous inhabitants, it is true, have fled from a new dominion, which admitted no other difference among men but such as arose from personal qualities, education, fortune, or the advantage of being useful to society. But the emigration of these contemptible persons, whose importance was founded on nothing but barbarous custom, cannot surely be considered as a misfortune. Has not the colony been much benefitted by getting rid of that nobility whose indolence had incumbered it so long, and whose pride encouraged a contempt for all kinds of labour? The only things necessary to make the colony prosper, are, that its lands should be cleared, its forests cut down, its iron mines

Canada is ceded to the English. What advantages they might derive from that possession.



B O O K worked, its fisheries extended, its industry and  
 XVI. exportations improved.

THE province of Canada has been convinced of this truth. And, indeed, notwithstanding the ties of blood, language, religion and government, which are usually so strong; notwithstanding that variety of connections and prejudices which have so powerful an ascendant over the minds of men; the Canadians have not shewn much concern at their violent separation from their ancient country. They have readily concurred in the measures employed by the English ministry to establish their happiness and liberty upon a solid foundation.

THE laws of the English admiralty were soon introduced. But this innovation was scarce perceived by them; because it scarcely concerned any except the conquerors, who were in possession of all the maritime trade of the colony.

THEY have paid more attention to the establishment of the criminal laws of England, which was one of the most happy circumstances Canada could experience. Deliberate, rational, public trials took place of the impenetrable mysterious transactions of a cruel inquisition; and a late dreadful and sanguinary tribunal was filled with humane judges, more disposed to acknowledge innocence than to suppose criminality.

THE conquered people have been still more delighted to find the liberty of their persons secured for ever by the famous law of Habeas Corpus. As they had too long been victims of  
 the

the arbitrary wills of their governors, they have B O O K  
 blessed the beneficent hand that raised them from XVI.  
 a state of slavery, to place them under the pro- —  
 tection of the laws.

THE attention of the British ministry was afterwards taken up in supplying Canada with a code of civil laws. This important work, though intrusted to able, industrious and upright lawyers, hath not yet obtained the sanction of government. If the success answers expectation, a colony will at last be found with a legislative system adapted to its climate, its population, and its labours.

INDEPENDENT of these parental views, Great Britain has thought it her political interest, by secret measures, to create in her new subjects, a fondness for the customs, the language, and the opinions of the mother country. This kind of similitude is, in fact, generally speaking, one of the strongest bands that can attach the colonies. But in our opinion the present situation of things ought to have occasioned a preference to another system. England has at this time so much reason to be apprehensive of the spirit of independence, which prevails in North-America, that, perhaps, it would have been more to her advantage to have kept up a distinction between Canada and her other provinces, rather than to have given them that kind of affinity and resemblance which may one day unite them too closely.

HOWEVER this may be, the British ministry have given the English government to Canada, so

B O O K far as it was consistent with an authority entirely  
XVI. regal, and without any mixture of a popular ad-  
ministration. Their new subjects, secure from the  
fear of future wars, eased of the trouble of de-  
fending distant posts which removed them far  
from their habitations, and deprived of the fur  
trade which has returned into its natural channel,  
have only to attend to their plantations. As these  
advance, their intercourse with Europe and with  
the Caribbee islands will increase, and soon become  
very considerable. They will for the future be  
the only resource of a vast country, into which  
France formerly poured immense sums, consider-  
ing it as the chief bulwark of her southern islands.  
The truth of this political opinion, which has been  
overlooked by so many negociators, will appear  
evident, as we proceed to explain the advantages  
of the English settlements on the continent of  
North-America.

END OF THE SIXTEENTH BOOK.



## B O O K XVII.

*English colonies settled at Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New-England, New-York, and New-Jersey.*

**E** NGLAND was only known in America by **BOOK** her piracies, which were often successful and al- **XVII.** ways bold, when Sir Walter Raleigh conceived a project to procure his nation a share of the prodigious riches which, for near a century past, had flowed from that hemisphere into ours. This great man, who was born for bold undertakings, cast his eye on the eastern coast of North-America. The talent he had of bringing men over to his opinion, by representing all his proposals in a striking light, soon procured him associates, both at court and among the merchants. The company that was formed in consequence of his magnificent promises, obtained of government in 1584 the absolute disposal of all the discoveries that should be made; and without any further encouragement,

First expeditions of the English in North-America.

BOOK ragement, they fitted out two ships in April fol-  
XVII. lowing, that anchored in Roanoak bay, which now  
} makes a part of Carolina. Their commanders,  
worthy of the trust reposed in them, behaved with  
remarkable affability in a country where they  
wanted to settle their nation, and left the savages  
as liberty to make their own terms in the trade  
they proposed to open with them.

THE reports made by these successful navigators on their return to Europe, concerning the temperature of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and the disposition of the inhabitants, encouraged the society to proceed. They accordingly sent seven ships the following spring, which landed a hundred and eight free men at Roanoak, for the purpose of commencing a settlement. Part of them were murdered by the savages whom they had insulted, and the rest, having been so improvident as to neglect the culture of the land, were perishing with misery and hunger, when a deliverer came to their assistance.

THIS was Sir Francis Drake, so famous among seamen for being the next after Magellan who sailed round the globe. The abilities he had shewn in that great expedition, induced queen Elizabeth to make choice of him to humble Philip II. in that part of his extensive dominions where he used to disturb the peace of other nations. Few orders were ever more punctually executed. The English fleet seized upon St. Jago, Carthagena, St. Domingo, and several other  
important

important places, and took a great many rich B O O K  
 ships. His instructions were, after these opera- XVII.  
 tions, to proceed and offer his assistance to the colony at Roanoak. The wretched few, who survived the numberless calamities that had befallen them, were in such despair, that they refused all assistance, and only begged he would convey them to their native country. The admiral complied with their request; and thus the expences that had been hitherto bestowed on the settlement were entirely thrown away.

THE associates were not discouraged by this unforeseen event. From time to time they sent over a few colonists, who in the year 1589, amounted to a hundred and fifteen persons of both sexes, under a regular government, and fully provided with all they wanted for their defence, and for the purposes of agriculture and commerce. These beginnings raised some expectations, but they were frustrated by the disgrace of Raleigh, who fell a victim to the caprices of his own wild imagination. The colony, having lost its founder, was totally forgotten.


IT had been thus neglected for twelve years, when Gosnold, one of the first associates, resolved to visit it in 1602. His experience in navigation made him suspect that the right track had not been found out, and that in steering by the Canary and Caribbee islands, the voyage had been made longer than it need have been by above a thousand leagues. These conjectures induced him



B O O K to steer away from the south, and to turn more  
 XVII. westward. The attempt succeeded; but when he  
 reached the American coast, he found himself  
 further north than any navigators who had gone  
 before. The country where he landed, which  
 now makes a part of New-England, afforded him  
 plenty of beautiful furs, with which he sailed back  
 to England.

THE rapidity and success of this undertaking made a strong impression upon the English merchants. Several of them joined in 1606 to form a settlement in the country that Gosnold had discovered. Their example revived in others the memory of Roanoak; and this gave rise to two charter companies. As the continent where they were to carry on their monopoly was then known in England only by the general name of Virginia, the one was called the South Virginia, and the other the North Virginia company.

THE zeal that had been shewn at first soon abated, and there appeared to be more jealousy than emulation between the two companies. Though they had been favoured with the first lottery that ever was drawn in England, their progress was so slow, that in 1614, there were not above four hundred persons in both settlements. That sort of competency which was answerable to the simplicity of the manners of the times, was then so general in England, that no one was tempted to go abroad in quest of a fortune. It is a sense of misfortune, that gives men a dislike to their native country, still more than  
 the

the desire of acquiring riches. Nothing less than B O O K  
 some extraordinary commotion could then have XVII.  
 sent inhabitants even into an excellent country. 

This emigration was at length occasioned by superstition, which had given rise to the commotions from the collisions of religious opinions.

THE first priests of the Britons were the Druids, The continent of America is peopled in consequence of the religious wars that disturb England.  
 so famous in the annals of Gaul. To throw a mysterious veil upon the ceremonies of a savage worship, their rites were never performed but in dark recesses, and generally in gloomy groves, where fear creates spectres and apparitions. Only a few persons were initiated into these mysteries, and intrusted with the sacred doctrines; and even these were not allowed to commit any thing to writing upon this important subject; lest their secrets should fall into the hands of the prophanes vulgar. The altars of a formidable deity were stained with the blood of human victims, and enriched with the most precious spoils of war. Though the dread of the vengeance of heaven was the only guard of these treasures, yet they were always held sacred, because the Druids had artfully repressed a thirst after riches by inculcating the fundamental doctrine of the endless transmigration of the soul. The chief authority of government was vested in the ministers of that terrible religion; because men are more powerfully and more constantly swayed by opinion than by any other motive. They were intrusted with the education of youth, and they maintained through life

BOOK life the ascendancy they acquired in that early age.

XVII. They took cognizance of all civil and criminal causes, and were as absolute in their decisions on state affairs as on the private differences between individuals. Whoever dared to resist their decrees, was not only excluded from all participation in the divine mysteries, but even from the society of men. It was accounted a crime and a reproach to hold any intercourse with him; he was irrevocably deprived of the protection of the laws, and nothing but death could put an end to his miseries. The history of human superstitions affords no instance of any one so tyrannical as that of the Druids. It was the only one that provoked the Romans to use severity; with so much violence did the Druids oppose the power of those conquerors.

THAT religion, however, had lost much of its influence, when it was totally abolished by christianity in the seventh century. The northern nations, that had successively invaded the southern provinces of Europe, had found there the seeds of that new religion, amidst the ruins of an empire that was shaken on all sides. Their indifference for their distant gods, or that credulity which is ever the companion of ignorance, induced them readily to embrace a form of worship which from the multiplicity of its ceremonies, could not but attract the notice of rude and savage men. The Saxons, who afterwards invaded England, followed their example, and adopted without difficulty



difficulty a religion that justified their conquests, ex-BOOK  
 piated the criminality of them, and insured their XVII.  
 permanency by abolishing the ancient forms of }  
 worship.

THE effects were such as might be expected from a religion, the original simplicity of which was at that time so much disfigured. Idle contemplations were soon substituted in lieu of active and social virtues; and a stupid veneration for unknown saints, took place of the worship of the supreme being. Miracles dazzled the eyes of men, and diverted them from attending to natural causes. They were taught to believe that prayers and offerings would atone for the most heinous crimes. Every sentiment of reason was perverted, and every principle of morality corrupted.

THOSE who had been the promoters of this confusion, knew how to avail themselves of it. The priests obtained that respect which was denied to kings; and their persons became sacred. The magistrate had no power of inspecting into their conduct, and they even evaded the watchfulness of the civil law. Their tribunal eluded and even superseded all others. They found means to introduce religion into every question of law, and into all state affairs, and made themselves umpires or judges in every cause. When faith spoke, every one listened in silent attention to its inexplicable oracles. Such was the infatuation of those dark ages, that the scandalous excesses of the clergy did not diminish their authority.

BOOK XVII. THIS authority was maintained by the immense riches the clergy had already acquired. As soon as they had taught, that religion was preserved principally by sacrifices, and required first of all that of fortune and earthly possessions, the nobility, who were sole proprietors of all estates, employed their slaves to build churches, and allotted their lands to the endowment of those foundations. Kings gave to the church all that they had extorted from the people; and stripped themselves to such a degree, as even not to leave a sufficiency for the payment of the army, or for defraying the other charges of government. These deficiencies were never made up by those who were the cause of them. They were not concerned in any of the public expences. The payment of taxes with the revenues of the church would have been a sacrilege, and a prostitution of holy things to profane purposes. Such was the declaration of the clergy, and the laity believed them. The possession of the third part of the feudal tenures in the kingdom, the free-will offerings of a deluded people, and the large fees required for all priestly offices, did not satisfy the enormous avidity of the clergy, ever attentive to their own interest. They found in the old testament that by divine appointment they had an undoubted right to the tithes of the produce of the land. This claim was so readily admitted, that they extended it to the tithe of industry, of the profits on trade, of the wages of labourers,

labourers, of the pay of soldiers, and sometimes of the salaries of placemen.

ROME, which at first was a silent spectator of these proceedings, and proudly enjoyed the success that attended the rich and haughty ministers of a Saviour born in obscurity, and condemned to an ignominious death, soon coveted a share in the spoils of England. The first step she took was to open a trade for relics, which were always ushered in with some striking miracle, and sold in proportion to the credulity of the purchasers. The great men, and even monarchs, were invited to go in pilgrimage to the capital of the world, to purchase a place in heaven suitable to the rank they held on earth. The popes by degrees assumed the presentation to church preferments, which at first they gave away, but afterwards sold. By these means their tribunal took cognizance of all ecclesiastical causes, and in time they claimed a tenth of the revenues of the clergy, who themselves levied the tenth of all the substance of the realm.

WHEN these pious extortions were carried as far as they possibly could be in England, Rome aspired to the supreme authority over it. Her ambitious deceit was covered with a sacred veil. She sapped the foundations of liberty; by employing the influence of opinion only. This was setting men at variance with themselves, and availing herself of their prejudices, in order to acquire an absolute dominion over them. She usurped the power of a despotic arbitrator between the



B O O K altar and the throne, between the prince and his  
 XVII. subjects, between one potentate and another.

She kindled the flames of war with her spiritual thunders. But she wanted emissaries to spread the terror of her arms, and made choice of the monks for that purpose. The secular clergy, notwithstanding their celibacy, which kept them from forming connections in the world, were still attached to it by the ties of interest, often stronger than those of blood. A set of men, secluded from society by singular institutions, which must incline them to fanaticism, and by a blind submission to the dictates of a foreign pontiff, were best adapted to second the views of such a sovereign. These vile and abject tools of superstition executed their fatal employment successfully. By their intrigues, assisted with the concurrence of favourable circumstances, England, which had so long withstood the conquering arms of the ancient Roman empire, became tributary to modern Rome.

At length the passions and violent caprices of Henry VIII. broke the scandalous dependence. The abuse of so infamous a power had already opened the eyes of the nation. This prince ventured at once to shake off the authority of the pope, abolish monasteries, and assume the supremacy over his own church.

This open schism was followed by other alterations in the reign of Edward, son and successor to Henry. The religious opinions, which were then changing the face of Europe, were openly discussed.

Some-

Something was taken from every one; many doctrines and rites of the old form of worship were retained; and from these several systems or tenets, arose a new communion, distinguished by the name of the church of England.

ELIZABETH, who completed this important work, found theory alone too subtle, and thought it most expedient to captivate the senses, by the addition of some ceremonies. Her natural taste for grandeur, and the desire of putting a stop to the disputes about points of doctrine, by entertaining the eye with the external parade of worship, inclined her to adopt a greater number of religious rites. But she was restrained by political considerations, and was obliged to sacrifice something to the prejudices of a party that had raised her to the throne, and was able to maintain her upon it.

FAR from suspecting that James I. would execute what Elizabeth had not even dared to attempt, it might be expected that he would rather have been inclined to restrain ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies: that prince, having been trained up in the principles of the presbyterians, a sect, which with much spiritual pride, affected great simplicity of dress, gravity of manners, and austerity of doctrine, which loved to speak in scripture phrases, and gave none but scripture names to their children. One would have supposed that such an education must have prejudiced the king against the outward pomp of the catholic worship, and every thing that bore any affinity to it. But

B O O K the spirit of system prevailed over the principles of  
 XVII. education. Struck with the episcopal jurisdiction  
 which he found established in England, and which he thought conformable to his own notions of civil government, he abandoned from conviction the early impressions he had received, and grew passionately fond of a hierarchy modelled upon the political œconomy of a well constituted empire. Instigated by his enthusiasm, he wanted to introduce this wonderful system into Scotland, his native country, and to engage a great many of the English, who still dissented to embrace it. He even intended to add the pomp of the most awful ceremonies to the majestic plan, if he could have carried his grand projects into execution. But the opposition he met with at first setting out, would not permit him to advance any further in his system of reformation. He contented himself with recommending to his son to resume his views, whenever the times should furnish a favourable opportunity; and represented the presbyterians to him as alike dangerous to religion and to the throne.

CHARLES readily followed his advice, which was but too conformable to the principles of despotism he had imbibed from Buckingham his favourite, the most corrupt of men, and the corrupter of the courtiers. To pave the way to the revolution he was meditating, he promoted several bishops to the highest dignities in the government, and conferred on them most of the offices  
 that



that imparted a great share of influence in all B O O K public measures. These ambitious prelates, now XVII. become the masters of a prince who had been weak enough to be guided by the instigations of others, betrayed that spirit so frequent among the clergy, of exalting ecclesiastical jurisdiction under the shadow of the royal prerogative. They multiplied the church ceremonies without end, under pretence of their being of apostolical institution, and to enforce their observance, had recourse to acts of arbitrary power exercised by the king. It was evident that there was a settled design of restoring, in all its splendour, what the protestants called Romish idolatry, though the most violent means should be necessary to compass it. This project gave the more umbrage, as it was supported by the prejudices and intrigues of a presumptuous queen, who had brought from France an immoderate passion for popery and arbitrary power.

It can scarce be imagined what acrimony these alarming suspicions had raised in the minds of the people. Common prudence would have allowed time for the ferment to subside. But the spirit of fanaticism endeavoured even in these troublesome times to restore every thing to the unity of the church of England, which was become more odious to the dissenters, since so many customs had been introduced into it which they considered as superstitious. An order was issued, that both kingdoms should conform to the worship and dis-

BOOK cipline of the episcopal church. This law included  
 XVII. the presbyterians, who then began to be called  
 puritans, because they professed to take the pure  
 and simple word of God for the rule of their faith  
 and practice. It was extended likewise to all the  
 foreign Calvinists that were in the kingdom, what-  
 ever difference there might be in their opinions.  
 This hierarchal worship was enjoined to the regi-  
 ments, and trading companies dispersed in the se-  
 veral countries of Europe. The English ambaf-  
 sadors were also required to separate from all com-  
 munion with the foreign protestants, so that Eng-  
 land lost all the influence she had abroad, as the  
 head and support of the reformation.

IN this fatal crisis, most of the puritans were  
 divided between submission and opposition. Those  
 who would neither stoop to yield, nor take the  
 pains to resist, turned their views towards North-  
 America, in search of that civil and religious li-  
 berty which their ungrateful country denied them.  
 Their enemies, in order to have an opportunity of  
 persecuting them more at leisure, attempted to  
 preclude these devout fugitives from this asylum,  
 where they wanted to worship God in their own  
 way in a desert land. Eight ships that lay at an-  
 chor in the Thames ready to sail, were stopped;  
 and Cromwell is said to have been detained there  
 by that very king, whom he afterwards brought  
 to the scaffold. Enthusiasm, however, stronger  
 than the rage of persecution, surmounted every  
 obstacle; and that part of America was soon filled  
 with

with presbyterians. The satisfaction they enjoyed BOOK  
 in their retreat, gradually induced all those of XVII.  
 their party to follow them, who were not so evil-  
 minded as to delight in the view of those dreadful  
 scenes, which soon after made England a scene  
 of blood and horror. Many were afterwards in-  
 duced to remove thither in more peaceable times,  
 with a view of advancing their fortunes. In a  
 word, all Europe contributed greatly to increase  
 their population. Thousands of unhappy men,  
 oppressed by the tyranny or intolerant spirit of  
 their sovereigns, took refuge in that hemisphere;  
 concerning which we shall now pursue our inqui-  
 ries, and endeavour before we quit the subject to  
 throw some light upon it.

It is surprising that so little should have been  
 known of the new world, for so long a time after  
 it was discovered. Barbarous soldiers and rapa-  
 cious merchants were not proper persons to give  
 us just and clear notions of this hemisphere. It  
 was the province of philosophy alone to avail it-  
 self of the informations scattered in the accounts  
 of voyagers and missionaries, in order to see Ame-  
 rica such as nature hath made it; and to find out  
 its analogy to the rest of the globe.

It is now pretty certain that the new continent  
 has not half the extent of surface that the old has.  
 At the same time, the form of both is so singu-  
 larly alike, that we might easily be inclined to  
 draw consequences from this particular, if it were  
 not always necessary to be upon our guard against



B O O K the spirit of system which often stops us in our  
 XVII. researches after truth, and hinders us from attain-  
 ing it.

THE two continents seem to form as it were two broad tracts of land that begin from the arctic pole, and terminate at the tropic of Capricorn, divided on the east and west by the ocean that surrounds them. Whatever may be the structure of these two continents, and the equality or symmetry of their form; it is plain their equilibrium does not depend upon their position. It is the inconstancy of the sea that constitutes the solid form of the earth. To fix the globe upon its basis, it seemed necessary to have an element which, floating incessantly round our planet, might by its weight counterbalance all other substances, and by its fluidity restore that equilibrium which the conflict of the other elements might have disturbed. Water by its natural fluctuation and weight, is the most proper element to preserve the connection and balance of the several parts of the globe round its center. If our hemisphere has a very wide extent of continent to the north, a mass of water of equal weight at the opposite part will certainly produce an equilibrium. If under the tropics we have a rich country covered with men and animals; under the same latitude America will have a sea filled with fish. While forests full of trees, bending with the largest fruits, quadrupeds of the greatest size, the most populous nations, elephants and men are a load upon the  
 surface

surface of the earth, and seem to absorb all its B O O K  
 fertility throughout the torrid zone ; at both poles XVII.  
 are found whales with innumerable multitudes of  
 cods and herrings, clouds of insects, and all the  
 infinite and prodigious tribes that inhabit the seas,  
 as it were to support the axis of the earth, and  
 prevent its inclining or deviating to either side :  
 if, indeed, elephants, whales, or men can be said  
 to have any weight on a globe, where all living  
 creatures are but a transient modification of the  
 earth that composes it. In a word the ocean rolls  
 over this globe to fashion it, in conformity to the  
 general laws of gravity. Sometimes it covers a  
 hemisphere, a pole or a zone, which at other  
 times it leaves bare ; but in general it seems to af-  
 fect the equator, more especially as the cold of  
 the poles in some measure counteracts that fluidity  
 which is essential to it, and from which it receives  
 all its power of motion. It is chiefly between the  
 tropics that the sea extends itself and is agitated,  
 and that it undergoes the greatest change both in  
 its regular and periodical motions, as well as in  
 those violent agitations occasionally excited in it  
 by tempestuous winds. The attraction of the  
 sun, and the fermentations occasioned by its con-  
 tinual heat in the torrid zone, must have a very  
 remarkable influence upon the ocean. The mo-  
 tion of the moon adds a new force to this in-  
 fluence, and the sea, to conform itself to this dou-  
 ble impulse, must, it should seem, flow towards  
 the equator. Nothing but the flatness of the  
 globe

B.O.O.K. globe at the poles can possibly account for that  
 XVII. immense extent of water, that has hitherto concealed from us the lands near the south pole. The sea cannot easily pass the boundaries of the tropics, if the temperate and frozen zones are not nearer the center of the earth than the torrid zone. It is the sea therefore that maintains an equilibrium with the land, and disposes the arrangement of the materials that compose it. One proof that the two analogous portions of land which the two continents of the globe present at first view are not essentially necessary to its confirmation, is, that the new hemisphere has remained covered with the waters of the sea, a much longer time than the old. Besides, if there is an evident similarity between the two hemispheres, there are also differences between them, which will perhaps destroy that harmony we think we observe.

WHEN we consider the map of the world, and see the local correspondence between the isthmus of Suez and that of Panama, between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn, between the Archipelago of the East-Indies and that of the Caribbee islands, and between the mountains of Chili and those of Monomotapa; we are struck with the similarity of the several forms this picture presents. Land seems on all sides to be opposed to land, water to water, islands and peninsulas scattered by the hand of nature to serve as a counterpoise, and the sea by its fluctuation constantly maintain-



maintaining the balance of the whole. But if, on B O O K  
the other hand we compare the great extent of the XVII.  
Pacific ocean, which separates the East and West  
Indies, with the small space the Ocean occupies  
between the coast of Guinea and that of Brazil;  
the vast quantity of inhabited land to the North,  
with the little we know towards the South; the  
direction of the mountains of Tartary and Europe,  
which is from East to West, with that of the Cor-  
deleras which run from North to South; the mind  
is in suspense, and we have the mortification to see  
the order and symmetry vanish with which we had  
embellished our system of the earth. The obser-  
ver is still more displeas'd with his conjectures,  
when he considers the immense height of the  
mountains of Peru. He is then astonish'd to see  
a continent so recent, and yet so elevated, the sea  
so much below the tops of these mountains, and  
yet so recently come down from the lands that  
seem'd to be effectually defend'd from its attacks  
by those tremendous bulwarks. It is, however,  
an undeniable fact, that both continents of the new  
hemisphere have been covered with the sea. The  
air and the land confirm this truth.

THE rivers which in America are wider and of  
greater extent; the immense forests to the South;  
the spacious lakes and vast morasses to the North;  
the almost eternal snows between the tropics; few  
of those pure sands that seem to be the remains of  
an exhausted ground; no men entirely black; ve-  
ry fair people under the line; a cool and mild air  
in

B O O K in the same latitude as the sultry and uninhabitable  
 xvii. parts of Africa ; a frozen and severe climate un-  
 der the same parallel as our temperate climates ;  
 and lastly, a difference of ten or twelve degrees,  
 in the temperature of the old and new hemispheres ;  
 these are so many tokens of a world that is still in  
 its infancy.

WHY should the continent of America be much warmer and much colder in proportion than that of Europe, if it were not for the moisture the ocean has left behind, in quitting it long after our continent was peopled? Nothing but the sea can possibly have prevented Mexico from being inhabited as early as Asia. If the waters that still moisten the bowels of the earth in the new hemisphere had not covered its surface, the woods would very easily have been cut down, the fens drained, a soft and watery soil would have been made firm, by stirring up, and exposing to the rays of the sun, a free passage would have been open to the winds, and dikes raised along the rivers : in short, the climate would have been totally altered by this time. But a rude and unpeopled hemisphere denotes a recent world ; when the sea, about its coasts, still flows obscurely in its channels. A less scorching sun, more plentiful rains, and thicker vapours more disposed to stagnate, are evident marks of the decay or the infancy of nature.

THE difference of climate, arising from the waters having lain so long on the ground in America, could not but have a great influence on men and animals.

animals. From this diversity of causes, must necessarily arise a very great diversity of effects. Accordingly we see more species of animals by two thirds, in the old continent than in the new; animals of the same kind considerably larger; monsters that are become more savage and fierce, as the countries have become more inhabited. On the other hand, nature seems to have strangely neglected the new world. The men have less strength and less courage; no beard and no hair; they have less appearances of manhood; and are but little susceptible of the lively and powerful sentiment of love, which is the principle of every attachment, the first instinct, the first band of society, without which all other artificial ties have neither energy nor duration. The women who are still more weak, are neither favourably treated by nature nor by the men, who have but little love for them, and consider them merely as subservient to their will: they rather sacrifice them to their indolence, than consecrate them to their pleasures. This indolence is the great delight and supreme felicity of the Americans, of which the women are the victims from the continual labours imposed upon them. It must, however, be confessed that in America, as in all other parts, the men, when they have sentenced the women to work, have been so equitable as to take upon themselves the perils of war, together with the toils of hunting and fishing. But their indifference for the sex, which nature has intrusted with the care of multiplying

the

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XVII.



BOOK the species, implies an imperfection in their or-  
 XVII. gans, a sort of state of childhood in the people of  
 } America, similar to that of the people in our con-  
 } tinent who are not yet arrived to the age of pu-  
 } berty. This seems to be a natural defect prevail-  
 } ing in the continent of America, which is an indi-  
 } cation of its being a new country.

BUT if the Americans are a new people, are they a race of men originally distinct from those who cover the face of the old world? This is a question which ought not to be too hastily decided. The origin of the population of America is involved in inextricable difficulties. If we assert that the Greenlanders first came from Norway, and then went over to the coast of Labrador; others will tell us it is more natural to suppose that the Greenlanders are sprung from the Esquimaux, to whom they bear a greater resemblance than to the Europeans. If we should suppose that California was peopled from Kamtschatka, it may be asked what motive or what chance could have led the Tartars to the north-west of America. Yet it is imagined to be from Greenland or from Kamtschatka that the inhabitants of the old world must have gone over to the new, as it is by those two countries that the two continents are connected, or at least approach nearest to one another. Besides, how can we conceive that in America the torrid zone can have been peopled from one of the frozen zones? Population will indeed spread from north to south, but it must naturally have begun

begun under the equator, where life is cherished B O O K  
 by warmth. If the people of America could not X V I I .  
 come from our continent, and yet appear to be a }  
 new race, we must have recourse to the flood,  
 which is the source and the solution of all difficul-  
 ties in the history of nations.

LET us suppose that the sea having overflowed  
 the other hemisphere, its old inhabitants took re-  
 fuge upon the Apalachian mountains, and the  
 Cordeleras, which are far higher than our mount  
 Ararat. But how could they have lived up-  
 on those heights, covered with snow, and sur-  
 rounded with waters? How is it possible that men  
 who had breathed in a pure and delightful cli-  
 mate, could have survived the miseries of want,  
 the inclemency of atainted atmosphere, and those  
 numberless calamities, which must be the unavoid-  
 able consequences of a deluge? How will the race  
 have been preserved and propagated in those  
 times of general calamity, and in the miserable  
 ages that must have succeeded? Notwithstanding  
 all these objections, we must allow that America  
 has been peopled from these wretched remains of  
 the great devastation. Every thing carries the  
 vestiges of a malady, of which the human race  
 still feels the effects. The ruin of that world is  
 still imprinted on its inhabitants. They are a spe-  
 cies of men degraded and degenerated in their na-  
 tural constitution, in their stature, in their way of  
 life, and in their understanding, which is but little  
 advanced in all the arts of civilization. A dam-  
 per

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XVII.

per air, and a more marshy ground, must necessarily have infected the first principles of the subsistence and increase of mankind. It must have required some ages to restore population, and still a greater number before the ground could be settled and dried, so as to be fit for tillage, and for the foundation of buildings. The air must necessarily be purified before the sky could clear, and the sky must necessarily be clear before the earth could be rendered habitable. The imperfection therefore of nature in America is not so much a proof of its recent origin, as of its regeneration. It was probably peopled at the same time as the other hemisphere, but may have been overflowed later. The large fossil bones that are found under ground in America, shew that it had formerly elephants, rhinoceros, and other enormous quadrupeds, which have since disappeared in those regions. The gold and silver mines that are found just below the surface, are signs of a very ancient revolution of the globe, but later than those that have overturned our hemisphere.

SUPPOSE America had, by some means or other been repeopled by our roving hords, that period would have been so remote, that it would still give great antiquity to the inhabitants of that hemisphere. Three or four centuries will not then be sufficient to allow for the foundation of the empires of Mexico and Peru; for though we find no trace in these countries of our arts, or of the opinions and customs that prevail in other parts of the globe,



globe, yet we have found a police and a society B O O K  
 established inventions and practices which, though XVII.  
 they did not shew any marks of times anterior to  
 the deluge, yet they implied a long series of ages  
 subsequent to this catastrophe. For, though in  
 Mexico, as in Egypt, a country surrounded with  
 waters, mountains, and other invincible obstacles,  
 must have forced the men inclosed in it to unite  
 after a time, though they might at first destroy  
 each other in continual and bloody wars; yet it  
 was only in process of time that they could invent  
 and establish a worship and legislation, which they  
 could not, possibly, have borrowed from remote  
 times or countries. It required a great number  
 of ages to render familiar the single art of speech,  
 and that of writing, though but in hieroglyphics, to  
 a whole nation unconnected with any other, and  
 which must itself have created both those arts, than  
 it would take up days to perfect a child in them.  
 Ages bear not the same proportion to the whole  
 race as years do to individuals. The whole race  
 is to occupy a vast field, both as to space and du-  
 ration, while the individuals have only some mo-  
 ments or instants of time to fill up, or rather to  
 run over. The likeness and uniformity observ-  
 able in the features and manners of the Ame-  
 rican nations, plainly shew that they are not so an-  
 cient as those of our continent which differ so much  
 from each other; but at the same time this cir-  
 cumstance seems to confirm that they did not pro-  
 ceed from any foreign hemisphere, with which

BOOK they have no kind of affinity that can indicate an  
XVII. immediate descent.

Comparison between civilized people and savages. } WHATEVER may be the case with regard to their origin or their antiquity, which are both uncertain, it is perhaps a more interesting object of inquiry, whether those untutored nations are more or less happy than our civilized people. Let us, therefore, examine whether the condition of rude man left to mere animal instinct, who passes every day of his life in hunting, feeding, producing his species, and reposing himself, is better or worse than the condition of that wonderful being, who makes his bed of down, spins and weaves the thread of the silk-worm to clothe himself, has exchanged the cave his original abode, for a palace, and has varied his indulgences and his wants in a thousand different ways.

It is in the nature of man that we must look for his means of happiness. What does he want to be as happy as he can be? Present subsistence; and, if he thinks of futurity, the hopes and certainty of enjoying that blessing. The savage, who has not been driven into and confined within the frigid zones by civilized societies, is not in want of this first of necessaries. If he lays in no stores, it is because the earth and the sea are reservoirs always open to supply his wants. Fish and game are to be had all the year, and will supply the want of fertility in the dead seasons. The savage has no house, well secured from the access of the external air, or commodious fire-places; but his  
furs

furs answer all the purposes of the roof, the garment and the stove. He works but for his own benefit, sleeps when he is weary, and is a stranger to watchings and restless nights. War is a matter of choice to him. Danger, like labour, is a condition of his nature, not a profession annexed to his birth, a national duty, not a domestic servitude. The savage is serious but not melancholy; and his countenance seldom bears the impression of those passions and disorders that leave such shocking and fatal marks on ours. He cannot feel the want of what he does not desire, nor can he desire what he is ignorant of. Most of the conveniencies of life are remedies for evils he does not feel. Pleasure is the mode of satisfying appetites which his senses are unacquainted with. He seldom experiences any of that weariness that arises from unsatisfied desires, or that emptiness and uneasiness of mind that is the offspring of prejudice and vanity. In a word, the savage is subject to none but natural evils.

BUT what greater happiness than this does the civilized man enjoy? His food is more wholesome and delicate than that of the savage. He has softer clothes, and a habitation better secured against the inclemencies of the weather. But the common people, who are to be the support and basis of civil society, those numbers of men who in all states bear the burden of hard labour, cannot be said to live happy, either in those empires where the consequences of war and the imperfec-



BOOK tion of the police has reduced them to a state of  
 XVII. slavery, or in those governments where the pro-  
 gress of luxury and policy has reduced them to a  
 state of servitude. The mixt governments seem  
 to present some prospects of happiness under the  
 protection of liberty; but this happiness is pur-  
 chased by the most sanguinary exertions, which  
 repel tyranny for a time only that it may fall the  
 heavier upon the devoted nation, sooner or later  
 doomed to oppression. Observe how Caligula  
 and Nero revenged the expulsions of the Tarquins,  
 and the death of Cæsar.

TYRANNY, we are told, is the work of the peo-  
 ple, and not of kings. But if so, why do they  
 suffer it? Why do they not repel the encroach-  
 ments of despotism; and while it employs violence  
 and artifice to enslave all the faculties of men,  
 why do they not oppose it with all their pow-  
 ers? But is it lawful to murmur and complain un-  
 der the rod of the oppressor? Will it not exaspe-  
 rate and provoke him to pursue the victim to  
 death? The complaints of slaves he calls rebelli-  
 on, and they are to be stifled in a dungeon, and  
 sometimes put an end to on a scaffold. The  
 man who should assert the rights of man  
 would perish in neglect and infamy. Tyranny,  
 therefore, must be endured, under the name of  
 authority.

If so to what outrages is not the civilized man  
 exposed! If he is possessed of any property, he  
 knows not how far he may call it his own,  
 when

when he must divide the produce between the B O O K  
 courtier who may attack his estate, the lawyer who XVII.  
 must be paid for teaching him how to preserve it, }  
 the soldier who may lay it waste, and the collector  
 who comes to levy unlimited taxes. If he has no  
 property, how can he be assured of a permanent  
 subsistence? What species of industry is secured  
 against the vicissitudes of fortune, and the encroach-  
 ments of government?

IN the forests of America, if there is a scarcity  
 in the north, the savages bend their course to the  
 south. The wind or the sun will drive a wander-  
 ing clan to more temperate climates. But if in  
 our civilized states, confined within gates, and re-  
 strained within certain limits, famine, war, or pes-  
 tilence should consume an empire, it is a prison  
 where all must expect to perish in misery, or in  
 the horrors of slaughter. The man who is unfor-  
 tunately born there is compelled to endure all ex-  
 tortions, all the severities, that the inclemeny of  
 the seasons and the injustice of government may  
 bring upon him.

IN our provinces, the vassal, or free mercenary  
 digs and ploughs the whole year round, lands that  
 are not his own, and whose produce does not  
 belong to him, and he is even happy, if his la-  
 bour procures him a share of the crops he has sown  
 and reaped. Observed and harrassed by a hard  
 and restless landlord, who grudges him the very  
 straw on which he rests his weary limbs, the wretch  
 is daily exposed to diseases which joined to his po-

B O O K verty, make him wish for death, rather than for  
 xvii. an expensive cure, followed by infirmities and toil.

Whether tenant or subject, he is doubly a slave; if he has a few acres, his lord comes and gathers them where he has not sown; if he is worth but a yoke of oxen or a pair of horses, he must employ them in the public service; if he has nothing but his person the prince takes him for a soldier. Every where he meets with masters, and always with oppression.

IN our cities, the workman and the artist who have no manufacture of their own are at the mercy of greedy and idle masters, who, by the privilege of monopoly, have purchased of government a power of making industry work for nothing, and of selling its labours at a very high price. The lower class have no more than the sight of that luxury of which they are doubly the victims, by the watchings and fatigues it occasions them, and by the insolence of the pomp that humiliates and oppresses them.

EVEN supposing that the dangerous labours of our quarries, mines and forges, with all the arts that are performed by fire, and that the perils which navigation and commerce expose us to, were less pernicious than the roving life of the savages, who live upon hunting and fishing: suppose that men who are ever lamenting the sorrows and affronts that arise merely from opinion, are less unhappy than the savages, who never shed a tear in the most excruciating tortures; there would still

remain



remain a wide difference between the fate of the B O O K civilized man and the wild Indian, a difference XVII. entirely to the disadvantage of social life. This is the injustice that prevails in the partial distribution of fortunes and stations; an inequality which is at once the effect and the cause of oppression.

IN vain does custom, prejudice, ignorance and hard labour stupify the lower class of mankind, so as to render them insensible of their degradation; neither religion nor morality can hinder them from seeing and feeling the injustice of the arrangements of policy in the distribution of good and evil. How often have we heard the poor man expostulating with heaven, and asking what he had done, that he should deserve to be born in an indigent and dependent station? Even if great conflicts were inseparable from the more exalted stations, which might be sufficient to balance all the advantages and all the superiority that the social state claims over the state of nature, still the obscure man, who is unacquainted with those conflicts, sees nothing in a high rank, but that affluence which is the cause of his own poverty. He envies the rich man those pleasures to which he is so accustomed, that he has lost all relish for them. What domestic can have a real affection for his master, or what is the attachment of a servant? Was ever prince truly beloved by his courtiers, even when he was hated by his subjects? If we prefer our condition to that of the savages, it is because civil life has made us incapable of bear-

BOOK XVII. ing some natural hardships which the savage is more exposed to than we are, and because we are attached to some indulgences that custom has made necessary to us. Even in the vigour of life, a civilized man may accustom himself to live among savages, and return to the state of nature. We have an instance of this in that Scotchman who was cast away on the island of Fernandez, where he lived alone, and was happy as soon as he was so taken up with supplying his wants, as to forget his own country, his language, his name, and even the articulation of words. After four years, he felt himself eased of the burden of social life, when he had lost all reflection or thought of the past, and all anxiety for the future.

LASTLY, the consciousness of independence being one of the first instincts in man, he who enjoys this primitive right, with a moral certainty of a competent subsistence is incomparably happier than the rich man, restrained by laws, masters, prejudices and fashions, which incessantly remind him of the loss of his liberty. To compare the state of the savages to that of children, is to decide at once the question that has been so warmly debated by philosophers, concerning the advantages of the state of nature above those of social life. Children, notwithstanding the restraints of education, are in the happiest age of human life. Their habitual cheerfulness, when they are not under the schoolmaster's rod, is the surest indication of the happiness they feel. After all, a single word

word may determine this great question. Let us BOOK ask the civilized man whether he is happy: and XVII. the savage whether he is unhappy. If they both answer in the negative, the dispute at an end.

YE civilized nations, this parallel must certainly be mortifying to you! but you cannot too strongly feel the weight of the calamities under which you are oppressed. The more painful this sensation is, the more will it awaken your attention to the true causes of your sufferings. You may at last be convinced that they proceed from the confusion of your opinions, from the defects of your political constitutions, and from capricious laws, which are in continual opposition to the laws of nature.

AFTER this inquiry into the moral state of the Americans, let us return to the natural state of their country. Let us see what it was before the arrival of the English, and what it is become under their dominion.

THE first Englishmen who went over to America to settle colonies, found immense forests. The vast trees that grew up to the clouds, were so surrounded with creeping plants, that they could not be approached. The wild beasts made these woods still more inaccessible. A few savages only were met with, clothed with the skins of those monsters. The human race, thinly scattered, fled from each other, or pursued only with intent to destroy. The earth seemed useless to man, and its powers were not exerted so much for his support, as in the breeding of animals, more obe-

In what state the English found North America, and what they have done there.

dient



BOOK XVII. { dient to the laws of nature. It produced spontaneously without assistance and without direction; it yielded all its bounties with uncontrouled profusion for the benefit of all, not for the pleasures or conveniencies of one species of beings. The rivers in one place glided freely through the forests, in another, scattered their unruffled waters in a wide morafs, from whence issuing in various streams they formed a multitude of islands, encompassed with their channels. Spring was renewed from the decay of autumn. The withered leaves rotting at the foot of the trees, supplied them with fresh sap to enable them to shoot out new blossoms. The hollow trunks of trees afforded a retreat to prodigious numbers of birds. The sea, dashing against the coasts, and indenting the gulphs, threw up shoals of amphibious monsters, enormous whales, crabs and turtles, that sported uncontrouled on the desert shores. There nature exerted her plastic power, incessantly producing the gigantic inhabitants of the ocean, and asserting the freedom of the earth and the sea.

BUT man appeared, and immediately changed the face of North America. He introduced symmetry, by the assistance of all the instruments of art. The impenetrable woods were instantly cleared, and made room for commodious habitations. The wild beasts were driven away, and flocks of domestic animals supplied their place; while thorns and briars made way for rich harvests.

The

The waters forsook part of their domain, and were drained off into the interior parts of the land, or into the sea, by deep canals. The coasts were covered with towns, and the bays with ships; and thus the new world, like the old, became subject to man. What powerful engines have raised that wonderful structure of European industry and policy? Let us resume the particulars. In the remotest part stands a solitary spot, distinct from the whole, and which is called Hudson's bay.

THIS bay, of about ten degrees in length, is formed by the ocean in the distant and northern parts of America. The Breadth of the entrance is about six leagues, but it is only to be attempted from the beginning of July to the end of September, and is even then rather dangerous. This danger arises from mountains of ice, some of which are said to be from 15 to 18 hundred feet thick, and which having been produced by winters of five or six years duration in little gulphs constantly filled with snow, are forced out of them by north-west winds, or by some other extraordinary cause. The best way of avoiding them is to keep as near as possible to the northern coast, which must necessarily be less obstructed and most free by the natural directions of both winds and currents.

Climate of Hudson's bay, and customs of its inhabitants. Trade carried on there.

THE north-west wind, which blows almost constantly in winter, and very often in summer, frequently raises violent storms within the bay itself, which is rendered still more dangerous by the  
number

BOOK number of shoals that are found there. Happily,  
 XVII. however, small groups of islands are met with at  
 } different distances, which are of a sufficient height  
 to afford a shelter from the storm. Beside these  
 small Archipelagoes, there are in many places  
 large piles of bare rock. Except the *Alga Marina*, the bay produces as few vegetables as the  
 other northern seas.

THROUGHOUT all the countries surrounding this bay, the sun never rises or sets without forming a great cone of light; this phœnomenon is succeeded by the *Aurora Borealis*, which tinges the hemisphere with coloured rays of such a brilliancy, that the splendour of them is not effaced even by that of the full moon. Notwithstanding this there is seldom a bright sky. In spring and autumn, the air is always filled with thick fogs, and in winter, with an infinite number of small icicles. Though the heats in the summer are pretty considerable for six weeks or two months, there is seldom any thunder or lightning, owing, no doubt, to the great dispersion of the sulphurèous exhalations, which, however, are sometimes set on fire by the *Aurora Borealis*; and this light flame consumes the barks of the trees, but leaves their trunks untouched.

ONE of the effects of the extreme cold or snow that prevails in this climate, is that of turning those animals white in winter, which are naturally brown or grey. Nature has bestowed upon them all, soft, long and thick furs, the hair of which  
 falls



falls off as the weather grows milder. In most of B O O K  
 these quadrupeds, the feet, the tail, the ears, and XVII.  
 generally speaking all those parts in which the }  
 circulation is slower, because they are the most  
 remote from the heart, are extremely short.  
 Wherever they happen to be something longer,  
 they are proportionably well covered. Under this  
 gloomy sky, all liquors become solid by freezing,  
 and break the vessels they are in. Even spirit of  
 wine loses its fluidity. It is not uncommon to see  
 fragments of large rocks loosened and detached  
 from the great mass, by the force of the frost.  
 All these phœnomena, common enough during  
 the whole winter, are much more terrible at the  
 new and full moon, which in these regions has an  
 influence upon the weather, the causes of which  
 are not known.

IN this frozen zone, iron, lead, copper, mar-  
 ble, and a substance resembling sea coal, have  
 been discovered. In other respects, the soil is ex-  
 tremely barren. Except the coasts, which are for  
 the most part marshy, and produce a little grass  
 and some soft wood, the rest of the country af-  
 fords nothing but very high moss and a few weak  
 shrubs very thinly scattered.

THIS deficiency in nature extends itself to every  
 thing. The human race are few in number, and  
 there are scarce any persons above four feet high.  
 Their heads bear the same enormous proportion to  
 the rest of their bodies, as those of children do.  
 The smallness of their feet makes them aukward  
 and

BOOK and tottering in their gait. Small hands and a  
 XVII. round mouth, which in Europe are reckoned a  
 beauty, seem almost a deformity in these people, because we see nothing here but the effects of a weak organization, and of a cold climate, that contracts and restrains the principles of growth, and is fatal to progress of animal as well as of vegetable life. All the men, even the youngest of them, though they have neither hair nor beard, have the appearance of being old. This is partly occasioned from the formation of their lower lip, which is thick, fleshy, and projecting beyond the upper. Such are the Esquimaux, which inhabit not only the coast of Labrador, from whence they have taken their name, but likewise all that tract of country, which extends from the point of Belle-Isle to the most northern parts of America.

THE inhabitants of Hudson's bay have, like the Greenlanders, a flat face with short but not flattened noses, the pupil yellow and the iris black. Their women have marks of deformity peculiar to their sex, among others very long and flabby breasts. This defect, which is not natural, arises from their custom of giving suck to their children till they are five or six years old. As they often carry them at their backs, the children pull their mother's breasts forcibly, and almost support themselves by them.

IT is not true that there are hords of the Esquimaux entirely black, as has been supposed, and then accounted for, nor that they live under ground.

ground. How should they dig into a soil, which B O O K  
 the cold renders harder than stone? How is it pos- XVII.  
 sible they should live caverns where they would  
 be infallibly drowned by the first melting of the  
 snows?

IT is, however, certain, that they spend the winter under huts hastily built with flints joined together with cements of ice, where they live without any other fire but that of a lamp hung in the middle of the shed, for the purpose of dressing their game and the fish they feed upon. The heat of their blood, and of their breath, added to the vapour arising from this small flame, is sufficient to make their huts as hot as stoves.

THE Esquimaux dwell constantly upon the sea, which supplies them with all their provisions. Both their constitution and complexion partake of the quality of their food. The flesh of the seal is their food, and the oil of the whale is their drink, which produces in them all an olive complexion, a strong smell of fish, an oily and tenacious sweat, and sometimes a sort of scaly leprosy. This is, probably, the reason why the mothers have the same custom, as the bears, of licking their young ones.

THESE people, weak and degraded by nature, are notwithstanding most intrepid upon a sea that is constantly dangerous. In boats made and sowed together like so many Borachios, but at the same time so well closed, that it is impossible for the water to penetrate them, they follow the shoals of  
 herrings



B O O K herrings through the whole of their polar emigra-  
XVII. tions, and attack the whales and seals at the peril  
of their lives. One stroke of the whale's tail is sufficient to drown a hundred of them, and the seal is armed with teeth to devour those he cannot drown; but the hunger of the Esquimaux is superior to the rage of these monsters. They have an inordinate desire for the whale's oil, which is necessary to preserve the heat in their stomachs, and defend them from the severity of the cold. Indeed whales, men, birds, and all the quadrupeds and fish of the north are supplied by nature with a quantity of fat which prevents the muscles from freezing, and the blood from coagulating. Every thing in these artic regions is either oily or gummy, and even the trees are resinous.

THE Esquimaux are notwithstanding subject to two fatal disorders, the scurvy and the loss of sight. The continuation of the snows on the ground, joined to the reverberation of the rays of the sun on the ice, dazzle their eyes in such a manner, that they are almost constantly obliged to wear shades made of very thin wood, through which small apertures for the light are bored with fish-bones. Doomed to a six-months night, they never see the sun but obliquely, and then it seems rather to blind them than to give them light. Sight, the most delightful blessing of nature, is a fatal gift to them, and they are generally deprived of it when young.

A STILL more cruel evil, which is the scurvy, B O O K consumes them by slow degrees. It insinuates it- XVII. self into their blood, changes, thickens and impoverishes the whole mass. The fogs of the sea, which they inspire, the dense and inelastic air they breathe in their huts, which exclude all communication with the external air, the continued and tedious inactivity of their winters, a mode of life alternately roving and sedentary, in a word every circumstance serves to increase this dreadful illness; which in a little time becomes contagious, and spreading itself throughout their habitations, is also probably entailed upon their posterity.

Notwithstanding these inconveniencies, the Esquimaux is so passionately fond of his country, that no inhabitant of the most favoured spot under heaven quits it with more reluctance than he does his frozen deserts. One of the reasons of this may be that he finds it difficult to breathe in a softer and more temperate climate. The sky of Amsterdam, Copenhagen, and London, though constantly obscured by thick and fetid vapours, is too clear for an Esquimaux. Perhaps too, there may be something in the change of life and manners still more unfavourable to the health of savages than the climate. It is not impossible but that the delights of an European may be poison to the Esquimaux.

SUCH were the inhabitants of the country discovered in 1610 by Henry Hudson. This intrepid mariner in searching after a north-west passage to the south-seas, discovered three streights,

BOOK through which he hoped to find out a new way to  
XVII. Asia by America. He sailed boldly into the midst  
of the new gulph, and was preparing to explore  
all its parts, when his treacherous crew put him  
into the long-boat, with seven others, and left  
him without either arms or provisions exposed to  
all the dangers both of sea and land. The barba-  
rians who refused him the necessaries of life could  
not, however, rob him of the honour of the dis-  
covery; and the bay which he first found out will  
ever be called by his name.

THE miseries of the civil war which followed  
soon after, had, however, made the English for-  
get this distant country, which had nothing to at-  
tract them. A succession of more quiet times had  
not yet induced them to attend to it, when Gro-  
seillers and Radisson, two French Canadians, hav-  
ing met with some discontent at home, informed  
the English who were engaged in repairing the  
mischiefs of discord by trade, of the profits arising  
from furs, and of their claim to the country that  
furnished them. Those who proposed this under-  
taking shewed so much ability, that they were in-  
trusted with the execution of it, and the first esta-  
blishment they formed succeeded so well that it  
surpassed their own hopes as well as their promises.

THIS success alarmed the French, who were  
afraid, and with reason, that most of the fine furs  
which they got from the northern parts of Canada,  
would be carried to Hudson's bay. Their alarms  
were confirmed by the unanimous testimony of  
their



their *Coureurs de Bois*, who since 1656, had been BOOK four times as far as the borders of the streight. XVII. It would have been an eligible thing to have gone } by the same road to attack the new colony; but the distance being thought too considerable, notwithstanding the convenience of the rivers, it was at length determined that the expedition should be made by sea. The fate of it was trusted to Groseillers and Radisson, who had been easily prevailed upon to renew their attachment to their country.

THESE two bold and turbulent men sailed from Quebec in 1682, in two vessels ill equipped, and on their arrival, finding themselves not strong enough to attack the enemy, they were contented with erecting a fort in the neighbourhood of that they designed to have taken. From this time there began a rivalship between the two companies, one settled at Canada, the other in England, for the exclusive trade of the bay, which was constantly kept up by the disputes it occasioned, till at last, after each of their settlements had been frequently taken and recovered, all hostilities were terminated by the treaty of Utrecht, by which the whole was ceded to Great-Britain.

HUDSON'S bay, properly speaking, is only a mart for trade. The severity of the climate having destroyed all the corn sown there at different times, has frustrated every hope of agriculture, and consequently of population. Throughout the whole of this extensive coast, there are not more

B O O K than ninety or a hundred foldiers, or factors, who  
 XVII. live in four bad forts, of which York fort is the  
 principal. Their business is to receive the furs brought by the neighbouring savages in exchange for merchandise, of which they have been taught the value and use.

THOUGH these skins are much more valuable than those which are found in countries not so far north, yet they are cheaper. The savages give ten beaver skins for a gun, two for a pound of powder, one for four pounds of lead, one for a hatchet, one for six knives, two for a pound of glass beads, six for a cloth coat, five for a petticoat, and one for a pound of snuff. Combs, looking-glasses, kettles and brandy sell in proportion. As the beaver is the common measure of exchange by another regulation as fraudulent as the first, two otters skins and three martins are required instead of one beaver. Besides this oppression, which is authorised, there is another which is at least tolerated, by which the savages are constantly defrauded in the quality, quantity, and measure of what is given them, and by which they lose about one third of the value.

FROM this regulated system of imposition it is easy to guess that the commerce of Hudson's bay is a monopoly. The capital of the company that is in possession of it was originally no more than 241,500 livres\*, and has been successively increased

\* 10,565l. 12s. 6d.

creased to 2,380,500\*. This capital brings them in an annual return of forty or fifty thousand skins of beavers or other animals, upon which they make so exorbitant a profit, that it excites the jealousy and clamours of the nation. Two thirds of these beautiful furs are either consumed in kind in the three kingdoms, or made use of in the national manufactures. The rest are carried into Germany, where the nature of the climate makes them a valuable commodity.

BUT it is neither the acquisition of these savage riches, nor the still greater emoluments that might be drawn from this trade, if it were made free, which have fixed the attention of England as well as that of all Europe upon this frozen continent. HUDSON'S bay always has been and is still looked upon as the nearest road from Europe to the East-Indies, and to the richest parts of Asia.


Whether there is a passage from Hudson's bay to the East Indies?

CABOT was the first who entertained an idea of a north-west passage to the South-seas; but his discoveries ended at Newfoundland. After him followed a crowd of English navigators, many of whom had the glory of giving their names to savage coasts which no mortal had ever visited before. These bold and memorable expeditions were more striking than really useful. The most fortunate of them did not furnish a single idea relative to the object of pursuit. The Dutch, less frequent in their attempts, and who pursued them with less ardour, were of course not more success-



BOOK  
XVII. ful, and the whole began to be treated as a chi-  
 mæra, when the discovery of Hudson's bay re-  
 kindled all the hopes that were nearly extinguish-  
 ed.

FROM this time the attempts were renewed with fresh ardour. Those that had been made before in vain by the mother country, whose attention was engrossed by her own intestine commotions, were pursued by New England, whose situation was favourable to the enterprize. Still, however, for some time there were more voyages undertaken than discoveries made. The nation was a long time kept in suspense by the contradictory accounts received from the adventurers. While some maintained the possibility, some the probability, and others asserted the certainty of the passage; the accounts they gave, instead of clearing up the point, involved it in still greater darkness. Indeed, these accounts are so full of obscurity and confusion, they are silent upon so many important circumstances, and they display such visible marks of ignorance and want of veracity, that however impatient we may be of determining the question, it is impossible to build any thing like a solid judgment upon testimonies so suspicious. At length, the famous expedition of 1746 threw some kind of light upon a point which had remained enveloped in darkness for two centuries past. But upon what grounds have the later navigators entertained better hopes? What are the experiments on which they found their conjectures?

LET us proceed to give an account of their ar-BOOK  
 guments. There are three facts in natural his\_ XVII.  
 tory, which henceforward must be taken for   
 granted. The first is, that the tides come from  
 the ocean, and that they extend more or less into  
 the other seas, in proportion as their channels  
 communicate with the great reservoir by larger or  
 smaller openings; from whence it follows that  
 this periodical motion is scarce perceptible in the  
 Mediterranean, in the Baltic, and other gulphs  
 of the same nature. A second matter of fact is,  
 that the tides are much later and much weaker in  
 places more remote from the ocean, than in those  
 which are nearer to it. The third fact is, that  
 violent winds, which blow in a direction with the  
 tides, make them rise above their ordinary bound-  
 aries, and that those which blow in a contrary  
 direction retard their motion, at the same time  
 that they diminish their swell.

FROM these principles, it is most certain that if  
 Hudson's bay were no more than a gulph inclosed  
 between two continents, and had no communica-  
 tion but with the Atlantic, the tides in it would  
 be very inconsiderable; they would be weaker in  
 proportion as they were further removed from the  
 source, and would be much less strong wherever  
 they ran in a contrary direction to the wind. But  
 it is proved by observations made with the greatest  
 skill and precision, that the tides are very high  
 throughout the whole bay. It is certain that they  
 are higher towards the bottom of the bay than

B O O K even in the streight itself, or at least in the neigh-  
 XVII. bourhood of it. It is proved that even this height  
 } increases whenever the wind blows from a corner  
 opposite to the streight; it is, therefore, certain,  
 that Hudson's bay has a communication with the  
 ocean, beside that which has been already found  
 out.

THOSE who have endeavoured to explain these very striking facts, by supposing a communication of Hudson's with Baffin's bay, or with Davis's streights, are evidently mistaken. They would not scruple to reject this opinion, for which indeed there is no real foundation, if they only considered that the tides are much lower in Davis's streights, and in Baffin's bay, than in Hudson's.

BUT if the tides in Hudson's bay can come neither from the Atlantic ocean, nor from any other northern sea, in which they are constantly much weaker, it follows that they must have their origin in the South-sea. And this is still further apparent from another leading fact, which is, that the highest tides ever observed upon these coasts are always occasioned by the north-west winds, which blow directly against the mouth of the streight.

HAVING thus determined, as much as the nature of the subject will permit, the existence of this passage so long and so vainly wished for, the next point is to find out in what part of the bay it is to be expected. From considering every circumstance, we are induced to think that the at-  
 tempts



tempts, which have been hitherto made without B O O K  
 either choice or method, ought to be directed to- XVII.  
 wards Welcome bay, on the western coast. First, the  
 bottom of the sea is to be seen there at the depth of  
 about eleven fathom, which is an evident sign that  
 the water comes from some ocean, as such a trans-  
 parency could not exist in waters discharged from  
 rivers, or in melted snow or rain. Secondly, the  
 currents keep this place always free from ice,  
 while all the rest of the bay is covered with it;  
 and their violence cannot be accounted for but by  
 supposing them to come from some western sea.  
 Lastly, the whales, who towards the latter end of  
 autumn always go in search of the warmest cli-  
 mates, are found in great abundance in these parts  
 towards the end of the summer, which would  
 seem to indicate that there is an outlet for them  
 from thence to the south seas, not to the northern  
 ocean.

It is probable, that the passage is very short.  
 All the rivers that empty themselves on the wes-  
 tern coast of Hudson's bay are small and slow,  
 which seems to prove that they do not come from  
 any distance; and that consequently the lands  
 which separate the two seas are of a small extent.  
 This argument is strengthened by the height and  
 regularity of the tides. Wherever there is no other  
 difference between the times of the ebb and flow,  
 but that which is occasioned by the retarded pro-  
 gression of the moon in her return to the meridi-  
 an, it is a certain sign that the ocean from whence

BOOK those tides come is very near. If the passage is  
 XVII. short, and not very far to the north, as every thing  
 { seems to promise, we may also presume that it is  
 not very difficult. The rapidity of the currents  
 observable in these latitudes, which prevents any  
 flakes of ice from continuing there, cannot but  
 give some weight to this conjecture.

THE discovery that still remains to be made is  
 of so much importance, that it would be folly to  
 neglect the pursuit of it. If the passage so long  
 sought for were once found, communications  
 would be opened between parts of the globe  
 which hitherto seem to have been separated by na-  
 ture from each other. They would soon be ex-  
 tended to the continent of the south seas, and to  
 all the numerous islands scattered upon that im-  
 mense ocean. The intercourse which has subsist-  
 ed nearly for three centuries between the com-  
 mercial nations of Europe, and the most remote  
 parts of India, being happily freed from the in-  
 conveniencies of a long navigation, would be much  
 quicker, more constant, and more advantageous.  
 It is not to be doubted that the English would be  
 desirous of securing an exclusive enjoyment of the  
 benefits arising from their activity and expences.  
 This wish would certainly be very natural, and  
 would be very powerfully supported. But as the  
 advantage obtained would be of such a nature,  
 that it would be impossible always to preserve the  
 sole possession of it, we may venture to foretell  
 that all nations must in time share it with them.

When-

Whenever this happens, both the freights of Ma-BOOK  
gellan and Cape Horn will be entirely deserted, XVII.  
and the Cape of Good Hope much less frequented.

Whatever the consequences of the discovery may be, it is equally the interest and dignity of Great-Britain to pursue her attempts till they are either crowned with success, or the impossibility of succeeding is fully demonstrated. The resolution she has already taken in 1745 of promising a considerable reward to the seamen who shall make this important discovery, though it be an equal proof of the wisdom and generosity of her councils, is not alone sufficient to attain the end proposed. The English ministry cannot be ignorant that all the efforts made either by government, or individuals, will prove abortive, till the trade to Hudson's bay shall be entirely free. The company in whose hands it has been ever since 1670, not content with neglecting the object of its institution, by taking no steps themselves for the discovery of the north-west passage, have thrown every impediment in the way of those who from love of fame, or other motives, have been prompted to this great undertaking. Nothing can ever alter this iniquitous spirit, for it is the very spirit of monopoly.

HAPPILY the exclusive privilege which prevails at Hudson's bay, and seems to preclude all nations from the means of acquiring knowledge and riches, does not extend its oppression to Newfoundland. This island, situated between 46 and 52 de-  
Description of Newfoundland.



B O O K

degrees of north latitude, is separated from the  
XVII. coast of Labrador only by a channel of moderate

breadth, known by the name of Belleisle streights. It is of a triangular form, and something more than three hundred leagues in circumference. We can only speak by conjecture of the inland parts of it on account of the difficulty of penetrating far into it, and the apparent inutility of succeeding in the attempt. The little that is known of this streight, is that it is full of very steep rocks, mountains covered with bad wood, and some very narrow and sandy valleys. These inaccessible places are stocked with deer, which multiply with the greater ease, on account of the security of their situation. No savages have ever been seen there except some Esquimaux, who come over from the continent in the hunting season. The coast abounds with creeks, roads and harbours; is sometimes covered with moss, but more commonly with small pebbles, which seem as if they had been placed there by design, for the purpose of drying the fish caught in the neighbourhood. In all the open places, where the flat stones reflect the sun's rays, the heat is excessive. The rest of the country is entirely cold; less so however from its situation, than the heights, the forests, the winds, and above all the vast mountains of ice which come out of the northern seas, and fix on these coasts. The sky towards the northern and western parts is constantly serene, but is much less so towards the east and south,

south, both of these points being too near the great B O O K  
bank, which is enveloped in a perpetual fog. XVII.

THIS island was originally discovered in 1497, by Cabot, a Venetian, at that time in the service of England, who made no settlement there. It was presumed from the several voyages undertaken after this, with a view of examining what advantages might be derived from it, that it was fit for nothing but to carry on the fishery of cod, which abounds in that sea. Accordingly the English used to send out at first small vessels in the Spring, which returned again in Autumn, with their freight of fish, both salt and fresh. The consumption of this article became almost universal, and there was a great demand for it, particularly among the Roman Catholics. The English took advantage of their superstition, to enrich themselves at the expence of the clergy, who had formerly acquired their wealth in England. They conceived an idea of forming settlements there. The first that were established at considerable distances of time from each other, were unsuccessful, and were all forsaken soon after they were founded. The first that became of any importance was 1608, the success of which raised such a spirit of emulation, that within forty years, all the space which extends along the eastern coast, between Conception bay and cape Ras, was peopled by a colony amounting to above four thousand souls. Those who were concerned in the fishery, being forced both from the nature of their employment,  
and

BOOK and that of the soil, to live at a distance from each  
 XVII. other, opened paths of communication through  
 the woods. Their general rendezvous was at St. John's, where in an excellent harbour formed between two mountains at a very small distance from each other, and large enough to contain above two hundred ships, they met with privateers from the mother country, who supplied them with every necessary in exchange for the produce of their fishery.

THE French had turned their views towards Newfoundland, before this prosperity of the English trade. They had for a long time frequented the southern parts of the island, where the Malouins in particular came every year to a place called the Petit Nord. After this some of them fixt promiscuously upon the coast from cape Ras to Chapeau Rouge, and at length they became numerous enough to form something like a town in the bay of Placentia, where they had every convenience that could make their fishery successful.

BEFORE the bay is a road of about a league and a half in breadth, not however sufficiently sheltered from the N. N. W. winds, which blow there with extreme violence. The streight which forms the entrance of the bay is so confined by rocks, that only one vessel can enter at a time, and not without being towed in. The bay itself is about 18 leagues long, and at the extremity of it there is a very secure harbour which contains 150 ships. Notwithstanding the advantage of such a  
 situation,



situation, which might secure to France the whole B O O K  
 fishery of the southern coast of Newfoundland, the xvii.  
 ministry of Versailles paid very little attention to  
 it. It was not till 1687 that a small fort was built  
 at the mouth of the streight, in which a garrison  
 was placed of about fifty men.

TILL this period, the inhabitants whom necessity  
 had fixed upon this barren and savage coast, had  
 been happily forgotten; but from that time began  
 a system of oppression which continued increasing  
 every day from the rapaciousness of the successive  
 governors. This tyranny, by which the colonists  
 were prevented from acquiring that degree of  
 competency that was necessary to enable them to  
 pursue their labours with success, must also hinder  
 them from increasing their numbers. The French  
 fishery, therefore, could never prosper so well as  
 that of the English. Notwithstanding this, Great-  
 Britain at the treaty of Utrecht, did not forget the  
 inroads that had so often been made upon their  
 territories by their enterprising neighbours, who,  
 supported by the Canadians accustomed to expedi-  
 tions and to the fatigues of the chase, trained up  
 in the art of bush-fighting and exercised in sudden  
 attacks, had several times carried devastation into  
 her settlements. This was sufficient to induce her  
 to demand the entire possession of the island; and  
 the misfortunes of the times obliged the French  
 to give it up; not however without reserving to  
 themselves not only the right of fishing on one  
 part

BOOK part of the island, but also on the Great Bank, XVII. which was considered as belonging to it.

Fisheries established at Newfoundland. THE fish for which these latitudes are so famous, is the cod. The length of this fish does not exceed three feet, and is often less; but the sea does not produce any with mouths as large in proportion to their size, or who are so voracious. Broken pieces of earthen ware, iron and glass are often found in their bellies. The stomach, indeed, does not, as has been imagined, digest these hard substances, but by a certain power of inverting itself, like a pocket, discharges whatever loads it.

THE cod fish is found in the northern seas of Europe. The fishery is carried on there by thirty English, sixty French, and 150 Dutch vessels, which taken together carry from 80 to 100 tons burden. Their competitors are the Irish, and above all the Norwegians. The latter are employed before the fishing season, in collecting upon the coast the eggs of the cod, which is the usual bate for pilchards. They sell, *communibus annis*, from twenty to twenty-two thousand tons of this fish, at nine livers\* per ton. If markets could be found for it, it might be taken in greater quantity; for an able naturalist, who has had the patience to count the eggs of one single cod, has found 9,344,000 of them. This bounty of nature must be still more considerable at Newfoundland,

land, where the cod fish is found in infinitely greater plenty.

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THE fish of Newfoundland is also more delicate, though not so white; but it is not an object of trade when fresh, and only serves for the food of those who are employed in the fishery. When it is salted and dried, or only salted, it becomes a useful article to a great part of Europe and America. That which is only salted is called green cod, and is caught upon the great bank,

THIS bank is one of those mountains that are formed under water by the earth which the sea is continually washing away from the continent. Both its extremities terminate so much in a point, that it is difficult to assign the precise extent of it, but it is generally reckoned to be 160 leagues long and 90 broad. Towards the middle of it on the European side is a kind of bay, which has been called the ditch. Throughout all this space, the depth of water is very different; in some places there are only five, in others above sixty fathom. The sun scarce ever shews itself there, and the sky is generally covered with a thick cold fog. The waves are always agitated, and the winds always high about this spot, which must be owing to this circumstance, that the sea being irregularly driven forwards by currents, bearing sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other, strikes with impetuosity against the borders which are every where perpendicular, and is repelled from them with equal violence. This is most likely to be



BOOK the true cause, because on the bank itself, at a  
XVII. little distance from the borders, the situation is as  
tranquil as in a harbour, except when a violent  
wind which comes from a greater distance, hap-  
pens to blow there.

FROM the middle of July to the latter end of August there is no cod found either upon the great bank or any of the small ones near it; but all the rest of the year the fishery is carried on. The ships employed in it are commonly from 50 to 150 tons, and carry no less than twelve or more than twenty five men. These fishermen are provided with lines, and as soon as they arrive are employed in catching a fish called the caplin, which they use as a bait for the cod.

PREVIOUS to their beginning the fishery, they build a gallery on the outside of the ship, which reaches from the main mast to the stern, and sometimes the whole length of the vessel. This gallery is furnished with barrels, with the tops beaten out. The fishermen place themselves within these, and are sheltered from the weather by a pitched covering fastened to the barrels. As soon as they catch a cod, they cut out its tongue, and give the fish to one of the boys to carry it to a person appointed for the purpose, who immediately strikes off the head, plucks out the liver and entrails, and then lets it fall through a small hatchway between the decks; when another man takes it, and draws out the bone as far as the navel, and then lets it sink through another hatchway into the hold; where

where it is salted and ranged in piles. The person who salts it, takes care to leave salt enough between each row of fish, but not more than is sufficient to prevent their touching each other, for either of these circumstances neglected would spoil the cod.

ACCORDING to natural right, the fishery upon the great bank ought to have been common to all mankind; notwithstanding which the two powers that have colonies in North America, have made very little difficulty of appropriating it to themselves; and Spain, who alone could have any claim to it, and who from the number of her monks might have pleaded the necessity of asserting it, entirely gave up the matter at the last peace; since which time the English and French are the only nations that frequent these latitudes.

IN 1768, France sent out 145 ships, the expence of which is estimated at 2,547,000 livres\*. These vessels which all together carried 8,830 tons, were manned with 1700 men, each of whom, according to calculations, the accuracy of which has been confirmed by repeated experiments, must have caught 700 fish; so that the whole of the fishery must have produced 1,190,000.

THERE are three different kinds of cod. The first consists of those which are twenty-four inches in length or upwards, the second comprehends those which measure from nineteen to twenty-four, and the third takes in all that are under nineteen

M 2

inches.

\* 111,431l. 5s.

BOOK inches. If the fishery yields two fifths of good  
 xvii. fish, two fifths of moderate fish, and one fifth of  
 bad, and if the fish is sold at the common price of  
 150 livres\* the hundred weight, the produce of  
 the whole fishery will amount to 1,050,000 li-  
 vres †. The hundred weight contains 136 cod of  
 the first quality, and 272 of the second; which  
 two sorts taken together sell for 180 livres ‡ per  
 hundred. Only 136 cod are necessary to make up  
 the hundred weight of the third class, but this  
 hundred weight sells only for one third of the  
 other, and is worth only 60 livres §, when the first  
 is worth 180 ||. Consequently the 1,190,000 cod  
 really caught and reduced in this manner, make  
 only 700,000 cod, which at 150 livres\*\* per  
 hundred weight, the mean price of the three sorts  
 of fish, will produce only 1,050,000 livres ††.  
 Out of this the crew must receive for their share,  
 which is one fifth, 210,000 livres †††, conse-  
 quently there remains only 840,000 livres §§ pro-  
 fit for those who are concerned in the manage-  
 ment of the trade, which may easily be proved to  
 be insufficient. For in the first place we must de-  
 duct the expences of unloading 145 ships, which  
 cannot be reckoned at less than 8,700 livres ||||.  
 The insurance of 2,547,000 livres\*\*\* at five per  
 cent. must amount to 127,350 livres †††. As  
 much

* 6l. 11s. 3d.	† 45,937l. 10s.	‡ 7l. 17s. 6d.
§ 2l. 12s. 6d.	7l. 17s. 6d.	** 6l. 11s. 3d.
†† 45,937l. 10s.	‡‡ 9,187l. 10s.	§§ 36,750l.
38cl. 12s. 6d.	*** 411,131l. 5s.	††† 5,571l. 11s. 3d.



much also must be deducted for the interest of the BOOK money. The value of the ships must be estimated XVII. at two thirds of the capital advanced, and will therefore be 1,698,000 livres\*. If we allow no more than five per cent. for the annual repair of the ships, we shall still be obliged to subtract 84,900 livres † from the profits. All these sums added together make a loss of 357,300 livres ‡, which being assessed upon a capital of 2,547,000 livres §, amounts to a loss of 14 livres and 6 deniers || per cent.

THOSE who think this loss will be compensated by the oil extracted from the cod's liver, and by the tongues and bowels which are likewise salted and sold, will find themselves much mistaken, as these trifling articles are scarce sufficient to pay the salaries of the captains, and the duties laid upon the commissions of sale.

THE French ministry must, therefore, either absolutely give up the fishery of the green cod, which is consumed in the capital, and in the northern provinces of France, or must take off the enormous duties which are at present imposed upon this kind of consumption. If they delay much longer to sacrifice this insignificant portion of the public revenue to so valuable a branch of trade, they will soon have the mortification to see the revenue disappear together with the trade that produced it. The only motives that induce the

M 3

traders

\* 74,287l. 10s. † 3,714l. 7s. 6d. ‡ 15,631l. 17s. 6d.  
§ 111,431l. 5s. || 12s. 3d. ¼.

B O O K

XVII.

traders still to continue the cod fishery, are, the habit of trading, the hopes of amendment, the aversion they have for selling their ships and stock under prime cost. But these motives will certainly cease, and if we may judge from the general appearance of dissatisfaction, this event is not very far off.

THE English, the produce of whose fishery is subject to no tax, have not the same reasons for giving it up. They have also this further advantage, that not coming from Europe, as their competitors do, but only from Newfoundland or other places not much more distant, they can employ very small vessels, which are easily managed, do not rise high above the water, whose sails may be brought level with the deck, and which are very little affected even by the most violent winds; so that their work is seldom interrupted by the roughness of the weather. Besides, they do not, as other seamen, lose their time in procuring baits, which they bring along with them. In a word, their sailors are more inured to fatigue, more accustomed to the cold, and better disciplined.

THE English, however, attend very little to the fishery of the green cod; because they have no mart for disposing of it. In this branch they do not sell halt so much as their rivals. As their cod is prepared with very little care, they seldom make up a complete cargo of it. For fear of its spoiling, they commonly quit the Great Bank, with two thirds and very often with not more than half their

their lading, which they sell to the Spanish and Portuguese, and in their own country. But they find a compensation for this inconsiderable trade in the article of green cod, by the greater quantity of dry cod they sell in all the markets. BOOK  
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THIS branch of trade is carried on in two different ways. That which is called the wandering fishery belongs to vessels which sail every year from Europe to Newfoundland, at the end of March, or in April. As they approach the island, they frequently meet with a quantity of ice, driven by the northern currents towards the south, which is broken to pieces by repeated shocks, and melts sooner or later at the return of the heats. These portions of ice are frequently a league in circumference; they are as high as the loftiest mountains, and extend above sixty or eighty fathom under water. When joined to smaller pieces, they sometimes occupy a space of a hundred leagues in length, and twenty-five or thirty in breadth. Interest, which obliges the mariners to come to their landings as soon as possible, that they may have their choice of the harbours most favourable to the fishery, makes them brave the rigour of the seasons and of the elements, which are all in a conspiracy against human industry. The most formidable rampart erected by military art, the dreadful cannonade of a besieged town, the terrors of the most skilful and obstinate sea-fight require less intrepidity and experience to encounter them, than these enormous floating bul-



B O O K works which the sea opposes to these small fleets of  
 XVII. fishermen. But the most insatiable of all passions,  
 the thirst of gold, surmounts every obstacle, and carries the mariner across these mountains of ice to the spot where the ships are to take in their lading.

THE first thing to be done after landing is to cut wood and erect scaffolds. All hands are employed in this work. When it is finished, the company divide; one half of the crew stays ashore to cure the fish, and the other goes on board in small boats. The boats designed for the fishery of the caplin carry four men, and those for the cod, three. These last boats, of which there is the greatest number, sail before it is light, generally at the distance of three, four or five leagues from the coast, and return in the evening to the scaffolds near the sea side, where they deposit the produce of the day.

WHEN one man has taken off the cod's head and gutted it, he gives it to another, who slices it and puts it in salt, where it remains eight or ten days. After it has been well washed, it is laid on gravel, where it is left till it is quite dry. It is then piled up in heaps, and left for some days to drain. It is then again laid on the strand, where it continues drying, and takes the colour we see it have in Europe.

THERE are no fatigues whatever to be compared with the labours of this fishery, which hardly leaves those who work at it four hours rest in the night,

night. Happily, the salubrity of the climate pre- B O O K  
serves the health of the people under such severe XVII.  
trials; and these labours would be thought no-  
thing of, if they were rewarded by the produce.

BUT there are some harbours where the strand is at so great a distance from the sea, that a great deal of time is lost in getting to it; and others, in which the bottom is of solid rock, and without Varec, so that the fish do not frequent them. There are others again, where the fish grow yellow from a mixture of fresh water with the salt; and some, in which it is scorched by the reverberation of the sun's rays reflected from the mountains. Even in the most favourable harbours, the people are not always sure of a successful fishery. The fish cannot abound equally in all parts: it is sometimes found to the north, sometimes to the south, and at other times in the middle of the coast, according as it is driven by the winds or attracted by the Caplin. The fishermen, who happen to fix at a distance from the places which the fish frequent, are very unfortunate, for their expences are all thrown away, because it is impossible for them to follow the fish with all their necessary apparatus.

THE fishery ends about the beginning of September, because at that time the sun has not power enough to dry the fish; but when it has been successful, the managers give over before that time, and make the best of their way either to the Caribbee islands, or to the Roman catholic states  
in

BOOK in Europe, that they may not be deprived of the  
 XVII. advantages of the first markets which might be  
 lost by an over stock.

IN 1768, France sent out on this trade 114 vessels, amounting in the whole to 15,590 tons burthen; the prime cost of which, together with the first expences of setting out, was 5,661,000 livres\*. The united crews, half of which were employed in taking the fish, and the other half in curing it, consisted of 8,022 men. Every fisherman must have taken for his share 6000 cod, and consequently, the produce of the whole must have been 24,066,000. Experience shews that there are 125 cod to each quintal. Consequently 24,066,000 must have made 192,528 quintals. Each quintal upon an average, sold at 16 livres, 9 sols, and 6 deniers†, which makes for the whole sale 3,174,305 livres 8 sols‡. As every hundred quintal of cod yields one barrel of oil, 192,528 quintals must have yielded 1925 barrels, which at 120 livres§ a barrel makes 231,000 livres||. Add to these, the profits of freight made by the ships returning home from the posts where they sold their cargoes, which are estimated at 198,000 livres\*\*, and the total profits of the fishery will not be found to have amounted to more than 3,603,305 livres, 8 sols††.

WE

\* 247,668l. 15s.

† About 14s. 5d.

‡ 138,875l. 17s. 2d.  $\frac{3}{4}$ .

§ 5l. 5s. || 10,106l. 5s.

\*\* 8,662l. 10s.

†† 157,644l. 12s. 2d.  $\frac{3}{4}$ .



WE may spare our readers a detail of the expences of unloading, which are troublesome on account of their minuteness as well as their insignificancy. The calculations of these have been made with the greatest care and attention, and the accounts confirmed by very intelligent and disinterested men, who from their professions must have been the proper judges of this matter. They amount in the whole to 695,680 livres, 17 sols, 6 deniers\*, so that the net produce of the fishery amounts only to 2,907,624 livres, 10 sols, 6 deniers †.


FROM these profits, the assurance money must be deducted, which at 6 per cent. upon a capital of 5,661,000 livres ‡, amounts to 339,660 livres§. We must also reckon the interest of the money, making at 5 per cent. 283,050 livres||. Neither must we omit the wear of the ships, the prime cost of which making half the whole capital, must be set down at 2,830,500 livres \*\*: this wear therefore which cannot be reckoned at less than 5 per cent. must amount to 141,525 livres ††. Admitting all these circumstances, which, indeed, cannot be called in question, it follows that the French have lost upon their wandering fishery in 1768, 687,110 livres, 9 sols, 6 deniers †††, and consequently 12 livres, 2 sols, 9 deniers §§ per cent. of their capital.

SUCH

\* 30,436l. os. 9d. † 127,208l. 11s. 3d. ½. ‡ 247,668l. 15s.  
 § 14,860l. 2s. 6d. || 12,383l. 8s. 9d. \*\* 123,834l. 7s. 6d.  
 †† 6,191l. 14s. 4d. ½. ††† 30,061l. 1s. 8d. §§ 10s. 7d. ¾.

B O O K    SUCH losses, which unfortunately have been but  
 xvii. too often repeated, will wean the nation more and  
 more from this ruinous branch of trade. Individuals who still carry it on, will soon give it up; and it is even probable, that in imitation of the English they would have done so already, if like them they had been able to make themselves amends by the stationary fishery.

By stationary fishery we are to understand that which is carried on by the Europeans who have settlements on those coasts of America where the cod is most plentiful. It is infinitely more profitable than the wandering fishery, because it is attended with much less expence, and may be continued much longer. These advantages the French enjoyed as long as they remained peaceable possessors of Acadia, Cape Breton, Canada, and part of Newfoundland. They have lost them one after another by the errors of government, and from the wreck of these riches, have only preserved a right of salting and drying their fish to the north of Newfoundland, from cape Bona Vista to Point Rich. All the fixed establishments left them by the peace of 1763, are reduced to the island of St. Peter's, and the two islands of Miquelon, where they are not even at liberty to build fortifications. There are 800 inhabitants in St. Peters, not more than 100 in great Miquelon, and only one family in the smaller. The fishery which is extremely convenient upon the two first, is entirely impracticable on the last-mentioned island, which however supplies

supplies them both with wood, and particularly St. B O O K  
 Peters, which has none of its own. Nature how- XVII.  
 ever has made amends for this circumstance at St.   
 Peters, by an excellent harbour, which indeed is  
 the only one in this large Archipelago, In 1768,  
 24,390 quintals of cod were taken, but this quan-  
 tity will not much increase, because the English  
 not only refuse the French the liberty of fishing in  
 the narrow channel, which separates these islands  
 from the southern coasts of Newfoundland, but  
 have even seized some of the sloops which attempt-  
 ed it.

THIS rigorous treatment, which is not warranted  
 by treaty, and only maintained by force, is the  
 more oppressive, as Great-Britain extends its em-  
 pire over all the coasts, and all the islands frequent-  
 ed by the fish. Her principal settlement is at New-  
 foundland, where there are about 8000 English,  
 who are all employed in the fishery. No more  
 than nine or ten ships a year are sent out from the  
 mother country for this purpose; and there are  
 some few more which engage in other articles of  
 commerce; but the greater part only exchange the  
 productions of Europe for fish, or carry off the  
 produce of the industry of the inhabitants.

BEFORE 1755, the fisheries of the two rival na-  
 tions were nearly equal, with this difference only,  
 that France consumed more at home, and sold less,  
 in proportion to her population and her religion;  
 but since she has lost her possessions in North Ame-  
 rica, one year with another, the two fisheries, that



BOOK is the stationary and the wandering united, have  
 XVII. not yielded more than 216,918 quintals of dry  
 } cod, which is barely sufficient for the consumption  
 of the southern provinces of the mother country,  
 and of course admits of no exportation to the colonies.

It may be asserted that the rival nation, on the contrary, has increased its fishery two thirds since its conquests, making in all 651,114 quintals, the profits of which, valuing each quintal at no more than 14 livres\*, a difference owing to its being cured with less care than the French fish, will amount to 9,115,596 livres†. One fourth of this is sufficient for the consumption of Great-Britain and her colonies; consequently what is sold in Spain, Portugal, and all the sugar islands amounts to a sum of 6,836,697 livres‡ returned to the mother country, either in specie or commodities. This object of exportation would have been still more considerable, if, after the conquest of Cape Breton and St. John's, the court of London had not been so inhuman as to drive out the French they found settled there; who have never yet been replaced, and, probably, never will. The same bad policy has also been followed in Nova Scotia.

The French cede Nova Scotia to England after having been a long time in possession of it themselves.

NOVA SCOTIA, by which at present is understood all the coast of 300 leagues in length, included between the limits of New England and the south coast of the river St. Lawrence, seemed at first to have comprehended only the great triangular

\* 12s. 3d. † 398,807l. 6s. 6d. ‡ 299,105l. 9s. 10d. ½.


gular peninsula, lying nearly in the middle of this BOOK space. This peninsula, which the French called XVII. Acadia, is extremely well situated for the ships which come from the Caribbee islands to water at. It has a number of excellent ports, which ships may enter and go out of with all winds. There is a great quantity of cod upon this coast, and still more upon small banks at the distance of a few leagues. The soil, which is very gravelly, is extremely convenient for drying it; it abounds likewise with good wood, and land fit for several sorts of cultivation, and is extremely well situated for the fur trade of the neighbouring continent. Though this climate is in the temperate zone, the winters are long and severe, and followed by sudden and excessive heats, to which generally succeed very thick fogs, that last a long time. These circumstances make this rather a disagreeable country, though it cannot be reckoned an unwholesome one.

It was in 1604 that the French settled in Acadia, four years before they had built the smallest hut in Canada. Instead of fixing towards the east of the peninsula, where they would have had larger seas, an easy navigation, and plenty of cod, they chose a small bay, afterwards called French bay, which had none of these advantages. It has been said, that they were invited by the beauty of Port Royal, where a thousand ships may ride in safety from every wind, where there is an excellent bottom, and at all times four or five fathom of water,

BOOKter, and eighteen at the entrance. It is more pro-  
 XVII. bable that the founders of this colony were led to  
 chuse this situation, from its vicinity to the coun-  
 tries abounding in furs, of which the exclusive  
 trade had been granted to them. This conjecture  
 is confirmed by the following circumstance: that  
 both the first monopolizers, and those who suc-  
 ceeded them, took the utmost pains to divert the  
 attention of their countrymen, whom an unsettled  
 disposition or necessity brought into these regions,  
 from the clearing of the woods, the breeding of  
 cattle, fishing, and every kind of culture; chusing  
 rather to engage the industry of these adventurers  
 in hunting or in trading with the savages.

THE mischiefs arising from a false system of ad-  
 ministration, at length discovered the fatal effects  
 of exclusive charters. It would be inconsistent  
 with truth and dignity of history to say that this  
 happened in France from any attention to the  
 common rights of the nation, at a time when these  
 rights were most openly violated. These sacred  
 rights, which only can secure the safety of the peo-  
 ple, while they give a sanction to the power of  
 kings, was never known in France. But in the  
 most absolute governments, a spirit of ambition  
 sometimes effects what in equitable and moderate  
 ones is done from principles of justice. The mi-  
 nisters of Lewis the XIV, who wished by mak-  
 ing their master respectable, to reflect some ho-  
 nour on themselves, perceived that they should  
 not succeed without the support of riches; and  
 that



that a people to whom nature has not given any B O O K mines, cannot acquire wealth but by agriculture XVII. and commerce. Both these resources had been  hitherto precluded in the colonies by the universal restraints that are always imposed, when the government interferes improperly in every minute concern. These impediments were at last removed; but Acadia either knew not how, or was not able to make use of this liberty.

THIS colony was yet in its infancy, when the settlement which has since become so famous under the name of New-England, was first established in its neighbourhood. The rapid success of the plantations in this new colony did not much attract the notice of the French. This kind of prosperity did not excite any jealousy between the two nations. But when they began to suspect that there was likely to be a competition for the beaver trade and furs, they endeavoured to secure to themselves the sole property of it, and were unfortunate enough to succeed.

AT their first arrival in Acadia, they had found the peninsula, as well as the forests of the neighbouring continent, peopled with small savage nations, who went under the general name of Abenakies. Though equally fond of war as other savage nations, they were more sociable in their manners. The missionaries easily insinuating themselves among them, had so far inculcated their tenets, as to make enthusiasts of them. At the same time that they taught them their religion, they



by what she is able to do, than by what she really B O O K  
 does. Obligated as they were, however unwillingly, XVII.  
 to restore their conquest at each treaty of peace, they waited with impatience till Great Britain should acquire such a superiority as would enable her to dispense with this restitution. The end of the war on account of the Spanish succession brought on the decisive moment; and the court of Versailles was for ever deprived of a possession of which it had never known the importance.

THE ardour which the English had shewn for the possession of this territory did not manifest itself afterwards in the care they took to maintain or to improve it. Having built a very slight fortification at Port-Royal, which they called Annapolis, in honour of queen Anne, they contented themselves with putting a very small garrison in it. The indifference shewn by the government was adopted by the nation, a circumstance not usual in a free country. Not more than five or six English families went over to Acadia, which still remained inhabited by the first colonists; who were only persuaded to stay upon a promise made them of never being compelled to bear arms against their ancient country. Such was the attachment which the French then had for the honour of their country. Cherished by the government, respected by foreign nations, and attached to their king by a series of prosperities which had rendered their name illustrious and aggrandized their power, they possessed that patriotic spirit which is the effect of success.




BOOK XVII. They esteemed it an honour to bear the name of Frenchmen, and could not think of foregoing the title. The Acadians, therefore, who, in submitting to a new yoke, had sworn never to bear arms against their former standards, were called the French neutrals.

THERE were twelve or thirteen hundred of them settled in the capital, the rest were dispersed in the neighbouring country. No magistrate was ever appointed to rule over them; and they were never acquainted with the laws of England. No rents or taxes of any kind were ever exacted from them. Their new sovereign seemed to have forgotten them; and they were equally strangers to him.

Manners of the French who remained subject to the English government in Nova Scotia.

HUNTING and fishing, which had formerly been the delight of the colony, and might still have supplied it with subsistence, had no further attraction for a simple and quiet people, and gave way to agriculture. It had been begun in the marshes and the low lands, by repelling the sea, and rivers which covered these plains, with dikes. These grounds yielded fifty times as much as before, and afterwards fifteen or twenty times as much at least. Wheat and oats succeeded best in them, but they likewise produced rye, barley, and maize. There were also potatoes in great plenty, the use of which was become common.

AT the same time the immense meadows were covered with numerous flocks. Sixty thousand head of horned cattle were computed there; and most of the families had several horses, though the tillage

tillage was carried on by oxen. The habitations, BOOK  
 built entirely with wood, were extremely con- XVII.  
 venient, and furnished as neatly as a substantial   
 farmer's house in Europe. The people bred a  
 great deal of poultry of all kinds, which made a  
 variety in their food, which was in general whole-  
 some and plentiful. Their common drink was  
 beer and cyder, to which they sometimes added  
 rum. Their usual cloathing was in general the  
 produce of their own flax, or the fleeces of their  
 own sheep. With these they made common li-  
 nens and coarse cloths. If any of them had any  
 inclination for articles of greater luxury, they  
 procured them from Annapolis or Louisbourg, and  
 gave in exchange, corn, cattle or furs.

THE neutral French had no other articles to dis-  
 pose of among their neighbours, and made still  
 fewer exchanges among themselves, because each  
 separate family was able and had been used to pro-  
 vide for its wants. They, therefore, knew no-  
 thing of paper currency, which was so common  
 throughout the rest of North-America. Even the  
 small quantity of specie, which had stolen into the  
 colony did not promote that circulation which is the  
 greatest advantage that can be derived from it.

THEIR manners were of course extremely sim-  
 ple. There never was a cause either civil or cri-  
 minal of importance enough to be carried before the  
 court of judicature established at Annapolis. What-  
 ever little differences arose from time to time among  
 them were amicably adjusted by their elders. All

B O O K their public acts were drawn by their pastors, who  
 XVII. had likewise the keeping of their wills, for which  
 and their religious services the inhabitants paid a  
 twenty-seventh part of their harvests.

THESE were plentiful enough to supply more than a sufficiency to fulfill every act of liberality. Real misery was entirely unknown, and benevolence prevented the demands of poverty. Every misfortune was relieved as it were, before it could be felt; and good was universally dispensed without ostentation on the part of the giver, and without humiliating the person who received. These people were in short a society of brethren, every individual of which was equally ready to give and to receive what he thought the common right of mankind.

So perfect a harmony naturally prevented all those connections of gallantry which are so often fatal to the peace of families. There never was an instance in this society of an unlawful commerce between the two sexes. This evil was prevented by early marriages; for no one passed his youth in a state of celibacy. As soon as a young man came to the proper age, the community built him a house, broke up the lands about it, sowed them, and supplied him with all the necessaries of life, for a twelvemonth. Here he received the partner whom he had chosen, and who brought him her portion in flocks. This new family grew and prospered like the others. In



1749 they all together amounted to eighteen thousand souls. BOOK  
XVII.

At this period Great Britain perceived of what consequence the possession of Acadia might be to her commerce. The peace which necessarily left a great number of men without employment, furnished an opportunity, by the disbanding of the troops, for peopling and cultivating a vast and fertile territory. The British ministry offered particular advantages to all persons who chose to go over and settle in Acadia. Every soldier, sailor and workman was to have fifty acres of land for himself, and ten for every person he carried over in his family. All non-commissioned officers were allowed eighty for themselves, and 15 for their wives and children; ensigns 200; lieutenants 300; captains 460; and all officers of a higher rank 600; together with thirty for each of their dependents. The land was to be tax free for the first ten years, and never to pay above one livre, two sols, six deniers \* for fifty acres. Besides this the government engaged to advance or reimburse the expences of passage, to build houses, to furnish all the necessary instruments for fishery or agriculture; and to defray the expences of subsistence for the first year. These encouragements determined three thousand, seven hundred and fifty persons in the month of May 1749 to go to America, rather than run the risque of starving in Europe.

\* About one shilling.

B O O K

XVII. It was intended that these new inhabitants should form a settlement to the south-east of Acadia, in a place which the savages formerly called Chebuſto, and the English Halifax. This ſituation was preferred to ſeveral others where the ſoil was better, for the ſake of eſtabliſhing in its neighbourhood an excellent cōd fiſhery, and fortifying one of the fineſt harbours in America. But as it was the part of the country moſt favourable for the chace, the English were obliged to diſpute it with the Micmac Indians, by whom it was moſt frequented. Theſe ſavages defended with obſtinacy a territory they held from nature; and it was not without very great loſſes that the English drove them out from their poſſeſſions.

THIS war was not entirely finiſhed, when ſome diſturbances began to break out among the neutral French. Theſe people whoſe manners were ſo ſimple and who enjoyed ſuch liberty, had already perceived that their independence muſt neceſſarily ſuffer ſome encroachments from any power that ſhould turn its views to the countries they inhabited. To this apprehenſion was added that of ſeeing their religion in danger. Their prieſts either heated by their own enthuſiaſm, or ſecretly inſtigated by the governors of Canada, made them believe all they choſe to ſay againſt the English, whom they called heretics. This word, which has ſo powerful an influence on deluded minds, determined this happy American colony to quit their habitations and remove to New France, where

where lands were offered them. This resolution B O O K  
 many of them executed immediately, without XVII.  
 considering the consequences of it; the rest were  
 preparing to follow as soon as they had provided  
 for their safety. The English government, either  
 from policy or caprice, determined to prevent  
 them by an act of treachery, always base and cruel  
 in those whose power gives them an opportunity  
 of pursuing milder methods. Under a pretence  
 of exacting a renewal of the oath which they had  
 taken at the time of their becoming English sub-  
 jects, they called together all the remaining in-  
 habitants, and put them on board of ship. They  
 were conveyed to the other English colonies,  
 where the greater part of them died of grief and  
 vexation rather than want.

SUCH are the effects of national jealousies, and  
 of the rapaciousness of government, to which  
 men as well as their property become a prey.  
 What our enemies lose is reckoned an advantage,  
 what they gain, is looked upon as a loss. When  
 a town cannot be taken, it is starved; when it  
 cannot be kept, it is burnt to ashes, or its  
 foundations rased. A ship or a fortified town is  
 blown up, rather than the sailors, or the garrison  
 will surrender. A despotic government separates  
 its enemies from its slaves by immense deserts, to  
 prevent the irruptions of the one, and the emigra-  
 tions of the other. Thus it is that Spain has ra-  
 ther chosen to make a wilderness of her own coun-  
 try, and a grave of America, than to divide its  
 riches




BOOK riches with any other of the European nations.  
 XVII. The Dutch have been guilty of every public and  
 private crime to deprive other commercial nations  
 of the spice trade. They have frequently thrown  
 whole cargoes into the sea, rather than they would  
 sell them at a low price. France rather chose to  
 give up Louisiana to the Spaniards, than to let it  
 fall into the hands of the English; and England  
 destroyed the neutral French inhabitants of Aca-  
 dia to prevent their returning to France. Can we  
 assert after this that policy and society were insti-  
 tuted for the happiness of mankind? Yes: they  
 were instituted to screen the wicked, and to secure  
 the powerful.

Present  
 state of  
 Nova Sco-  
 tia.

SINCE the emigration of a people who owed  
 their happiness to their virtuous obscurity, Nova  
 Scotia has been but thinly inhabited. The same  
 rage which depopulated the country, seems to  
 have blasted it. At least the punishment of the  
 injustice falls upon the authors of it; for there is  
 not a single inhabitant to be seen upon all that  
 length of coast between the river St. Lawrence,  
 and the peninsula; neither is it probable, from  
 the number of rocks, sands and morasses which  
 cover it at present, that it ever will be peopled.  
 The cod, indeed, which abounds in some of its  
 bays, invites every year a small number of fisher-  
 men during the season.

THERE are only three settlements in the rest of  
 the province. Annapolis, the most ancient of  
 them, situated at the mouth of a long bay, waits  
 for

for fresh inhabitants to supply the place of the B O O K unhappy Frenchmen who were driven from it; XVII. and it seems to promise them rich returns from  the fertility of its soil.

LUNENBURGH, the second settlement, was founded a few years ago by 800 Germans from Hallifax. At first, it did not promise such success; but is considerably improved by the unremitting industry of that warlike and wise people, who contented with defending their own territory, seldom go out of it, but to cultivate others which they are not ambitious of conquering. They have fertilized all the countries under the English dominion, wherever chance has conducted them.

HALLIFAX will always continue to be the principal place in the province; an advantage it owes to the encouragements lavished upon it by the mother country. Their expences for this settlement from its first foundation to the year 1769, amounted to more than 90,000 livres \* per annum. Such favours were not ill bestowed upon a city, which from its situation is the natural rendezvous of both the land and sea forces. Great Britain sometimes thinks herself obliged to maintain in America, as well for the defence of her fisheries, and the protection of her sugar islands, as for the purpose of preserving her connections with her northern colonies. Hallifax, indeed, derives more of its splendour from the motion and activity which is constantly kept up in its ports,

\* 3,937l. 10s.

BOOK ports, than either from its agriculture which is  
 XVII. trifling, or from its fisheries which have not been  
 } considerably improved, though they consist of  
 cod, mackarel, and the seal. It is not even in  
 the state it should be as a fortified town. From  
 the malversations of persons in office, who instead  
 of the fortifications ordered and paid for by the  
 mother country, have only erected a few batteries  
 without any ditch round the city, it is not likely  
 to make the least resistance to any enemy that at-  
 tacks it. In 1757, the inhabitants of the county  
 of Hallifax rated the value of their houses, cattle  
 and merchandise at about 6,750,000 livres\*.  
 This sum, which makes about two thirds of the  
 riches of the whole province, has not increased  
 above one fourth since that time.

BUT will the province continue in this weak  
 state for any length of time? Is it not with a view  
 of preventing this, that in 1763 the British go-  
 vernment constituted a court of admiralty for all  
 North America, and fixed it at Hallifax? Before  
 this period, the justices of peace were the judges  
 of all violations of the act of navigation; but the  
 partiality these magistrates used to shew in their  
 decisions for the colony where they were born,  
 and by which they had been chosen, rendered  
 their ministry uselefs, and even prejudicial to the  
 mother country. It was presumed, that men of  
 understanding sent from Europe, and properly  
 supported, would be treated with greater respect,  
 and



and keep the people more in awe. The event has BOOK justified this policy. Since that regulation, the XVII. commercial laws have been better observed; but } still great inconveniencies have been occasioned by the distance of many provinces from the seat of this new tribunal. It is probable that to remedy these, administration will be forced to multiply the number of the courts, and disperse them in places convenient for the people to have access to them. Nova Scotia will then lose the precarious advantage it gains from determining all causes relative to the navy; but it will, probably, find out other natural sources of wealth within itself. It has some, indeed, that are peculiar to it. The exceeding fine flax it produces, of which the three kingdoms are so much in want, must hasten the progress of its improvement. Nova Scotia must not, however, expect ever to vie with New England.

NEW ENGLAND, like the mother country, has Founda-  
tion of  
New Eng-  
land. signalized itself by many acts of violence; and has been actuated by the same turbulent spirit. It took its rise in troublesome times, and its infant state was disturbed with many dreadful commotions. It was discovered in the beginning of the last century, and called North Virginia, but no Europeans settled there till the year 1608. The first colony, which was weak and ill directed, did not succeed, and for some time after there were only a few adventurers who came over at times in the summer, built themselves temporary huts for  
the

BOOK the sake of trading with the savages, and like  
 XVII. them, disappeared again for the rest of the year.

— Fanaticism which had depopulated America to the south, was destined to repeople it in the north. Some English presbyterians, who had been driven from their own country, and had taken refuge in Holland, that universal asylum of liberty, resolved to found a church for their sect in the new hemisphere. They, therefore, purchased in 1621 the charter of the English North Virginia company : for they were not reduced to such a state of poverty, as to be obliged to wait till prosperity became the reward of their virtues. Forty-one families, making in all 120 persons, set out under the guidance of enthusiasm, which, whether founded upon error or truth, is always productive of great actions. They landed at the beginning of a very hard winter, and found a country entirely covered with wood, which offered a very melancholy prospect to men already exhausted with the fatigues of their voyage. Near one half perished either by cold, the scurvy, or distress ; the rest were kept alive, for some time, by a spirit of enthusiasm, and the steadiness of character they had acquired under the persecution of episcopal tyranny. But their courage was beginning to fail, when it was revived by the arrival of sixty savage warriors, who came to them in the spring, headed by their chief. Freedom seemed to exult that she had thus brought together from the extremities of the world two such different people ;  
 who

who immediately entered into a reciprocal alliance of friendship and protection. The old tenants assigned for ever to the new ones all the lands in the neighbourhood of the settlement they had formed under the name of New Plymouth; and one of the savages, who understood a little English, stayed to teach them how to cultivate the maize, and instruct them in the manner of fishing upon their coast.

BOOK  
XVII.

THIS kindness enabled the colony to wait for the companions they expected from Europe, with seeds, with domestic animals, and with every assistance they wanted. At first these succours arrived but slowly, but the persecution of the puritans in England increased, as usual, the number of profelytes to such a degree in America, that in 1630, they were obliged to form different settlements, of which Boston soon became the principal. These first settlers were not merely ecclesiastics, who had been deprived of their preferment on account of their opinions, nor those sectaries influenced by new opinions, that are so frequent among the common people. There were among them several persons of high rank, who having embraced puritanism either from motives of caprice, ambition, or even of conscience, had taken the precaution to secure themselves an asylum in these distant regions. They had caused houses to be built, and lands to be cleared, with a view of retiring there, if their endeavours in the cause of civil and religious liberty should prove abortive.



B O O K abortive. The same fanatical spirit that had introduced anarchy into the mother country, kept the colony in a state of subordination, or rather a severity of manners, had the same effect as laws in a savage climate.

THE inhabitants of New England lived peaceably for a long time without any regular form of policy. Not that their charter had not authorized them to establish any mode of government they might chuse, but these enthusiasts were not agreed among themselves upon the plan of their republic; and government did not pay sufficient attention to them to urge them to secure their own tranquillity. At length they grew sensible of the necessity of a regular legislation, and this great work which virtue and genius united have never attempted but with diffidence, was boldly undertaken by blind fanaticism. It bore the stamp of the rude prejudices on which it had been formed.

THERE was in this new code a singular mixture of good and evil, of wisdom and folly. No man was allowed to have any share in the government except he were a member of the established church. Witchcraft, perjury, blasphemy, and adultery were made capital offences; and children were also punished with death, either for cursing or striking their parents. Marriages, however, were to be solemnized by the magistrate. The price of corn was fixed at 3 livres, 7 sols, 6 deniers \* per bushel. The savages who neglected to cultivate

\* 2s. 11d.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

cultivate their lands were to be deprived of them; B O O K  
 and Europeans were forbidden under a heavy pe- XVII.  
 nalty to sell them any strong liquors or warlike  
 stores. All those who were detected either in ly-  
 ing, drunkenness, or dancing, were ordered to be  
 publicly whipped. But at the same that amuse-  
 ments were forbidden equally with vices and  
 crimes, one might be allowed to swear by paying  
 a penalty of one livre, two sols, six deniers\*, and  
 to break the sabbath for 67 livres, 10 sols†. Ano-  
 ther indulgence allowed, was, to atone by a fine for  
 a neglect of prayer, or for uttering a rash oath.  
 But it is still more extraordinary that the worship of  
 images was forbidden to the puritans on pain of  
 death, which was also inflicted on Roman catholic  
 priests, who should return to the colony after they  
 had been banished; and on quakers who should  
 appear again after having been whipped, branded  
 and expelled. Such was the abhorrence for these  
 sectaries, who had themselves an aversion for every  
 kind of cruelty, that whoever either brought one  
 of them into the country, or harboured him but  
 for one hour, was liable to pay a considerable  
 fine.

THOSE unfortunate members of the colony, Fanaticism  
occasions  
great cala-  
mities in  
New-Eng-  
land.  
 who, less violent than their brethren, ventured to  
 deny the coercive power of the magistrate in mat-  
 ters of religion, were persecuted with still greater  
 rigour. This was considered as blasphemy by  
 those very divines who had rather chosen to quit  
 VOL. V. O their

\* 11d.  $\frac{1}{4}$ .† 2l. 19s. 9d.  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

BOOK their country than to shew any deference to episcopal authority. By that natural propensity of the human heart which leads men from the love of independence to that of tyranny, they had changed their opinions as they changed the climate; and only seemed to arrogate freedom of thought to themselves, in order to deny it to others. This system was supported by the services of the law, which attempted to put a stop to every difference in opinion, by inflicting capital punishment on all who dissented. Those who were either convicted or even suspected of entertaining sentiments of toleration, were exposed to such cruel oppressions, that they were forced to fly from their first asylum, and seek refuge in another. They found one on the same continent, and as New England had been first founded by persecution, its limits were extended by it.

THIS intemperate religious zeal extended itself to matters in themselves of the greatest indifference. A proof of this is found in the following public declaration, transcribed from the registers of the colony.

“IT is a circumstance universally acknowledged,  
 “ that the custom of wearing long hair, after the  
 “ manner of immoral persons and of the savage  
 “ Indians, can only have been introduced into  
 “ England, but in sacrilegious contempt of the  
 “ express command of God, who declares that it  
 “ is a shameful practice for any man who has  
 “ the least care for his soul to wear long hair.

“ As




“ As this abomination excites the indignation of B O O K  
 “ all pious persons; we, the magistrates, in our XVII.  
 “ zeal for the purity of the faith, do expressly  
 “ and authentically declare, that we condemn the  
 “ impious custom of letting the hair grow; a  
 “ custom which we look upon to be very indecent  
 “ and dishonest, which horribly disguises men, and  
 “ is offensive to modest and sober persons, in as  
 “ much as it corrupts good manners. We, there-  
 “ fore, being justly incensed against this scandalous  
 “ custom, do desire, advise, and earnestly request  
 “ all the elders of our continent, zealously to shew  
 “ their aversion from this odious practice, to ex-  
 “ ert all their power to put a stop to it, and es-  
 “ pecially to take care that the members of their  
 “ churches be not infected with it; in order that  
 “ those persons, who, notwithstanding these ri-  
 “ gorous prohibitions, and the means of correcti-  
 “ on, that shall be used on this account, shall still  
 “ persist in this custom, shall have both God and  
 “ man at the same time against them.

THIS severity, which a man exercises against  
 himself, or against his fellow-creatures, and which  
 makes him first the victim, then the oppressor, soon  
 exerted itself against the Quakers. They were  
 whipped, banished, and imprisoned. The proud  
 simplicity of these new enthusiasts, who in the  
 midst of tortures and ignominy praised God, and  
 called for blessings upon men, inspired a reverence  
 for their persons and opinions, and gained them  
 a number of proselytes. This circumstance ex-

BOOK  
XVII. asperated their persecutors, and hurried them on  
caused five of them, who had returned clandestinely  
from banishment, to be hanged. It seemed as  
if the English had come to America to exercise  
upon their own countrymen the same cruelties the  
Spaniards had used against the Indians; whether  
it was that the change of climate had rendered the  
Europeans more ferocious; or that the fury of re-  
ligious zeal can only be extinguished in the de-  
struction of its apostles and its martyrs. This  
spirit of persecution was, however, at last suppress-  
ed by the interposition of the mother country,  
from whence it had been brought.

CROMWELL was no more. Enthusiasm, hypo-  
crisy, and fanaticism, which composed his cha-  
racter; factions, rebellions, and proscriptions were  
all buried with him, and England had the prospect  
of calmer days. Charles the second, at his re-  
storation, had introduced among his subjects a so-  
cial turn, a taste for convivial pleasures, gallantry,  
and diversions, and for all those amusements he  
had been engaged in while he was travelling from  
one court to another in Europe, to endeavour to  
regain the crown which his father had lost upon a  
scaffold. Nothing but such a total change of  
manners, could possibly have secured the tran-  
quillity of his government upon a throne stained  
with blood. He was one of those voluptuaries,  
whom the love of sensual pleasures sometimes ex-  
cites to sentiments of compassion and humanity.

Moved with the sufferings of the Quakers, he put BOOK a stop to them by a proclamation in 1661; but he XVII. was never able totally to extinguish the spirit of  persecution that prevailed in America.

THE colony had placed at their head Henry Vane, the son of that Sir Henry Vane, who had had such a remarkable share in the disturbances of his country. This obstinate and enthusiastic young man, in every thing resembling his father, unable either to live peaceably himself, or to suffer others to remain quiet, had contrived to revive the obscure and obsolete questions of grace and free will. The disputes upon these points ran very high, and would, probably, have plunged the colony into a civil war, if several of the savage nations united had not happened at that very time to fall upon the plantations of the disputants, and to massacre great numbers of them. The colonists heated with their theological contests paid at first very little attention to this considerable loss. But the danger at length became so urgent and so general, that all took up arms. As soon as the enemy was repulsed, the colony resumed its former dissensions; and the phrenzy which they excited, broke out in 1692 in a war, marked with as many atrocious instances of violence, as any ever recorded in history.

THERE lived in a town of New England, called Salem, two young women who were subject to convulsions, accompanied with extraordinary symptoms. Their father, minister of the church, thought



B O O K that they were bewitched; and having in conse-  
XVII. quence cast his suspicions upon an Indian girl, who  
lived in this house, he compelled her by harsh  
treatment to confess that she was a witch. Other  
women upon hearing this, seduced by the pleasure  
of exciting the public attention, immediately be-  
lieved that the convulsions which proceeded only  
from the nature of their sex, were owing to the  
same cause. Three citizens, casually named, were  
immediately thrown into prison, accused of witch-  
craft, hanged, and their bodies left exposed to  
wild beasts and birds of prey. A few days after,  
sixteen other persons, together with a counsellor,  
who because he refused to plead against them, was  
supposed to share in their guilt, suffered in the  
same manner. From this instant, the imagination  
of the multitude was inflamed with these horrid  
and gloomy scenes. The innocence of youth, the  
infirmities of age, virgin modesty, fortune, ho-  
nour, virtue, and the most dignified employments  
of the state, were no security against the suspicions  
of a people infatuated with visionary superstition.  
Children of ten years of age were put to death,  
young girls were stripped naked, and the marks  
of witchcraft searched for upon their bodies with  
the most indecent curiosity those spots of the  
scurvy which age impresses upon the bodies of old  
men, were taken for evident signs of the infernal  
power. Fanaticism, wickedness and vengeance  
united, selected their victims at pleasure. In de-  
fault of witnesses, torments were employed to ex-

tort confessions dictated by the executioners themselves. If the magistrates, tired out with executions refused to punish, they were themselves accused of the crimes they tolerated; the very ministers of religion raised false witnesses against them, who made them forfeit with their lives the tardy remorse excited in them by humanity. Dreams, apparitions, terror and consternation of every kind increased these prodigies of folly and horror. The prisons were filled, the gibbets left standing, and all the citizens involved in gloomy apprehensions. The most prudent quitted a country stained with the blood of its inhabitants; and those that remained wished only for peace in the grave. In a word, nothing less than the total and immediate subversion of the colony was expected, when on a sudden, in the height of the storm, the waves subsided, and a calm ensued. All eyes were opened at once, and the excess of the evil awakened the minds which it had first stupified. Bitter and painful remorse was the immediate consequence; the mercy of God was implored by a general fast, and public prayers were offered up to ask forgiveness for the presumption of having supposed that heaven could have been pleased with sacrifices with which it could only have been offended.

POSTERITY will, probably, never know exactly what was the cause or remedy of this dreadful disorder. It had, perhaps, its first origin in the melancholy, which these persecuted enthusiasts had

B O O K brought with them from their own country, which  
 XVII. had increased with the scurvy they had contracted  
 at sea, and had gathered fresh strength from the  
 vapours and exhalations of a soil newly broken  
 up, as well as from the inconveniences and hard-  
 ships inseparable from a change of climate and  
 manner of living. The contagion, however, ceased  
 like all other epidemical distempers, exhausted by  
 its very communication; as all the disorders of the  
 imagination are expelled in the transports of a de-  
 lirium. A perfect calm succeeded this agitation;  
 and the puritans of New-England have never since  
 been seized with so gloomy a fit of enthusiasm.


Severities  
 still subsist-  
 ing in the  
 laws of  
 New-Eng-  
 land.

BUT though the colony has renounced the per-  
 secuting spirit which hath stained all religious sects  
 with blood, it has preserved some remains if not  
 of intoleration, at least, of severity, which reminds  
 us of those melancholy days in which it took its  
 rise. Some of its laws are still too severe.

[IN support of this position the author in-  
 troduces the story of Polly Baker, who was  
 brought before the magistrates and convicted the  
 fifth time of having had a bastard child. He  
 gives the speech she is said to have made on this  
 occasion at full length. But as this speech is in  
 the hands of every English reader, the translator  
 has judged it unnecessary to swell his translation  
 with it. The author's reasoning upon it is as  
 follows:]

THIS speech produced an affecting change in  
 the minds of all the audience. She was not only  
 acquitted



acquitted of either penalty or corporal punishment, B O O K  
 but her triumph was so complete, that one of her XVII.  
 judges married her. So superior is the voice of   
 reason to all the powers of studied eloquence. But  
 popular prejudice has resumed its influence; whether it be, that the representations of nature alone  
 are often stified by an attention to political advantages, or to the benefit of society; or that, under  
 the English government, where celibacy is not enjoined by religion, there is less excuse for an illicit  
 commerce between the sexes than in those countries, where the clergy, the nobility, luxury, poverty,  
 and the scandalous example given by the court and the church, all concur in degrading and  
 corrupting the married state, in rendering it burthenome, and deterring many persons from entering  
 into it.

NEW ENGLAND has some remedy against bad laws in the constitution of its mother country, where the people who have the legislative power in their own hands are at liberty to correct abuses; and it has others derived from its situation, which open a vast field to industry and population.

THIS colony, bounded on the north by Canada, Govern-  
 on the west by New-York, and on the east and ment, po-  
 south by Nova Scotia and the ocean, extends full population,  
 three hundred miles along the sea coasts, and up- cultures,  
 wards of fifty miles in the inland parts. manufac-  
tures, trade

THE clearing of the lands is not directed by and navi-  
 chance as in the other provinces. This matter gation of  
 from the first was subjected to laws which are New-Eng-  
 still land.

B O O K still religiously observed. No citizen whatever has  
 XVII. the liberty of settling even upon unoccupied land.

The government desirous of preserving all its members from the inroads of the savages, and of placing them in a condition to share in the protection of a well regulated society, hath ordered that whole villages should be formed at once. As soon as sixty families offer to build a church, maintain a clergyman, and pay a school-master, the general assembly allot them a situation, and permit them to have two representatives in the legislative body of the colony. The district assigned them always borders upon the lands already cleared, and generally contains six thousand square acres. These new people chuse the situation most convenient for their habitation, which is usually of a square figure. The church is placed in the center; the colonists divide the land among themselves, and each incloses his property with a hedge. Some woods are reserved for a common. It is thus that New-England is constantly enlarging its territory, though it still continues to make one complete and well constituted province.

THOUGH the colony is situated in the midst of the temperate zone, yet the climate is not so mild as that of some European provinces, which are under the same parallel. The winters are longer and colder; the summers shorter and hotter. The sky is commonly clear and the rains more plentiful than lasting. The air has grown purer since its circulation has been made free by cutting down the woods;

woods; and malignant vapours, which at first carried off some of the inhabitants, are no longer complained of. BOOK  
XVII.

THE country is divided into four provinces, which at first had no connection with one another. The necessity of maintaining an armed force against the savages obliged them to form a confederacy in 1643, when they took the name of the united colonies. In consequence of this league, two deputies from each establishment used to meet in a stated place to deliberate upon the common affairs of New-England, according to the instructions they had received from the assembly, by which they were sent. This association laid no constraint upon the right of every individual to act entirely as he pleased, without either the permission or approbation of the mother country. All the submission required of these provinces was merely to acknowledge the kings of England for their sovereigns.

CHARLES the II. wished to make them more dependent. The province of Massachusets bay, which, though the smallest, was the richest and the most populous of the four, being guilty of some misdemeanour against government, the king seized that opportunity of taking away its charter in 1684; and it remained without one till the revolution; when it received another, which, however, did not answer its claims or expectations. The crown reserved to itself the right of nominating the governor, and appointing to all military employ-



BOOK employments, and to all principal posts in the ci-  
 XVII. vil and juridical departments: it allowed the peo-  
 ple of the colony their legislative power, and gave  
 the governor a negative voice and the command  
 of the troops, which secured him a sufficient in-  
 fluence to enable him to maintain the prerogative  
 of the mother country in all its force. The pro-  
 vinces of Connecticut and Rhode-Island by timely  
 submission prevented the punishment that of Mas-  
 sachuset had incurred, and retained their original  
 charter. That of New-Hampshire had been al-  
 ways regulated by the same mode of administration  
 as the province of Massachusetts's bay. The same  
 governor presides over the whole colony, but with  
 regulations adapted to the constitution of each  
 province. According to the most exact calcula-  
 tions, the present number of inhabitants in New-  
 England is computed at four hundred thousand,  
 but the southern parts of the colony are better  
 peopled than the northern, where the soil is less  
 fertile. Among such a number of citizens, there  
 are few proprietors wealthy enough to leave the  
 care of their plantations to stewards or farmers:  
 most of them are planters in easy circumstances,  
 who live upon their estates and are employed in  
 the labours of the field. This equality of fortune,  
 joined to the religious principles and to the nature  
 of the government, gives this people a more re-  
 publican cast than is to be observed in the other  
 colonies.

No European fruits have degenerated in New-B O O K England; it is even said, that the apple is im-XVII.proved, at least, it has multiplied exceedingly and made cyder a more common drink there than in any other part of the world. All European roots and garden-stuff have equally prospered; but the seeds have not thriven quite so well. Wheat is apt to be blighted, barley grows dry, and oats yield more straw than grain. In default of these the maize, which is commonly used in making beer, is the drink of the common people. There are large and fruitful meadows, which are covered with numerous flocks.

THE arts, though carried to a greater degree of perfection in this colony than in any of the others, have not made near the same progress as agriculture. There are not more than four or five manufactures of any importance.

THE first which was formed was that for building ships. It maintained for a long time a degree of reputation. The vessels which came out of this dock were in great estimation, the materials of which they were constructed, being found much less porous, and much less apt to split than those of the more southern provinces. Since 1730, the numbers of them are considerably diminished, because the woods for ship building have been little attended to, and used for other purposes. To prevent this inconvenience, it was proposed to forbid the cutting of any of them within ten miles of the sea, and we know not for what reason  
this

BOOK XVII. this law, the necessity of which was so evident, succeeded better than the building of ships. The opportunity the people of New-England had of importing large quantities of molasses from the Caribbee islands, gave rise to this branch of trade. The molasses were at first used in kind for various purposes. By degrees they learnt to distil them. When made into rum, they supplied the neighbouring savages with that liquor, as the Newfoundland fishermen did the other northern provinces, and sailors who frequented the coast of Africa. The imperfect state of this art in the colony has not diminished the sale of the spirit; because it has always been able to afford it at a very low price.

THE same reason has both supported and increased the manufacture of hats. Though this was limited by the regulations of the mother country to the internal consumption of the colony, the merchants have found means to surmount these obstacles, and to smuggle pretty large quantities into the neighbouring settlements.

THE colony sells no cloths, but it buys very few. The fleeces of its flocks, which are as long, though not quite so fine as the English ones, make coarse stuffs, which are very convenient for plain men who live in the country.

SOME Presbyterians who were driven from the north of Ireland by the persecutions either of the government or of the clergy, first taught the people



ple of New-England to cultivate hemp and flax, BOOK  
 and to manufacture them. The linens made of XVII.  
 them are since become one of the great resources }  
 of the colony.

THE mother country, whose political measures have not always coincided with the high opinion entertained of her abilities, has omitted nothing to thwart these several manufactures. She did not perceive that by this oppressive conduct of the government, those of her subjects who were employed in clearing this considerable part of the new world, must be reduced to the alternative either of abandoning so good a country, or procuring from among themselves the things of general use, and of immediate necessity. Indeed, even these resources would not have been sufficient to maintain them, if they had not had the good fortune and the address to open to themselves several other channels of subsistence, the origin and progress of which we must endeavour to trace.

THE first external resource they met with was in the fishery. It has been encouraged to such a degree, that a regulation has taken place, by which every family who shall declare that it has lived upon salt-fish for two days in the week during a whole year, shall be disburdened of part of their tax. Thus commercial views enjoin abstinence from meat to the protestants, in the same manner as religion prescribes it to the catholics.

MACKAREL is caught only in the spring at the mouth of the Pentagouet, a considerable river  
 which

BOOK XVII. which empties itself in Fundy bay, towards the extremity of the colony. In the very center of the coast, and near Boston, the cod-fish is always in such plenty, that cape Cod, notwithstanding the sterility of its soil, is one of the most populous parts of the country. Not content, however, with the fish caught in its own latitude, New England sends every year about two hundred vessels, from thirty-five to forty tons each, to the great bank, to Newfoundland, and to Cape Breton, which commonly make three voyages a season, and bring back at least a hundred thousand quintals of cod. Besides, there are larger vessels which sail from the same ports, and exchange provisions for the fish caught by the English who are settled in these frozen and barren regions. All this cod is afterwards distributed in the southern parts of Europe and America.

THIS is not the only article with which the British islands in the new world are supplied by New England. It furnishes them besides with horses, oxen, hogs, salt meat, butter, tallow, cheese, flour, biscuit, Indian corn, peas, fruits, cyder, hemp, flax, and woods of all kinds. The same commodities pass into the islands belonging to the other nations, sometimes openly, sometimes clandestinely, but always in less quantities during peace, than in war time. Honduras, Surinam, and other parts of the American continent are also markets open to New England. This province likewise imports wines and brandies from the Madeiras

deiras and the Azores, and pays for them with B O O K  
cod-fish and corn. XVII.

THE ports of Italy, Spain and Portugal receive annually sixty or seventy of their ships. They come there laden with cod, wood for ship building, naval stores, corn and fish oil; many of them return with olive-oil, salt, wine and money immediately to New England, where they land their cargoes clandestinely. By this method, they elude the customs they would be obliged to pay in Great Britain if they went there, as in pursuance of a positive order they ought to do. The ships which do not return to the port from whence they first set out, are sold in those where they dispose of their cargo. They have frequently no particular destination, but are freighted indifferently for every merchant and every port, till they meet with a proper purchaser.

THE mother country receives from its colony yards and masts for the royal navy, planks, potashes, pitch, tar, turpentine, a few furs, and in years of scarcity some corn. These cargoes come home in ships built by her own merchants, or bought by them of persons who fit out privateers upon speculation.

BESIDES the trade New England carries on with her own productions, she has appropriated to herself part of the produce both of North and South America, by undertaking to convey the several exchanges made between these countries. On this account the New Englanders are looked upon as



BOOK the brokers or Hollanders of that part of the  
XVII. world.

NOTWITHSTANDING this lively and continued exertion, New England has never yet been able to discharge her debts. She has never been able to pay exactly for what she received from the mother country, either in productions of her own, or of foreign industry, or in those from the East-Indies; all which articles of trade amount annually to 9,000,000 of livres\*.

SHE has still, however, trade enough to keep six thousand sailors in constant employment. Her navy consists of five hundred large vessels, which carry altogether forty thousand tons burden; besides a great number of smaller vessels for fishing and for the coasting trade, which sail out indiscriminately from the numerous harbours that are open on the coast. Almost all of them load and unload at Boston.

BOSTON, the capital of New England is situated on a peninsula, about four miles long, at the bottom of the fine bay of Massachuset, which reaches about eight miles within land. The opening of the bay is sheltered from the impetuosity of the waves by a number of rocks which rise above the water, and by twelve small islands, the greater parts of which are fruitful and inhabited. These dikes and natural ramparts will not allow more than three ships to come in together. At the end of the last century, a regular citadel, named fort

Wil-

William, was erected in one of the islands upon B O O K  
 this narrow channel. It is defended by a hundred XVII.  
 pieces of cannon of forty-two pounders each, which are disposed in such a manner, that they can rake a ship fore and aft before it is possible for her to bring her guns to bear. A league further on, is a very high light-house, the signals from which, in case of invasion, are perceived and repeated by the fortrefs along the whole coast, at the same time that Boston has her own light-houses, which spread the alarm to all the inland country. Except when a very thick fog happens to prevail, which some ships might take advantage of to slip into the islands, the town has always five or six hours to prepare for the reception of an enemy, and to assemble ten thousand militia, which can be raised at four and twenty hours notice. If a fleet should ever be able to pass the artillery of fort William, it would infallibly be stopped by a couple of batteries, which being erected to the north and south of the place, command the whole bay, and would give time for all the vessels and commercial stores to be sheltered from cannon shot in the river Charles.

Boston port is so large that six hundred vessels may anchor in it safely and commodiously. There is a magnificent pier constructed, projecting sufficiently into the sea to allow the ships to unload their goods without the assistance of a lighter, and to deposit them into the warehouses which are ranged on the north side. At the extremity of the

BOOK pier, the town appears in the form of a crescent  
 XVII. round the harbour. According to the bills of  
 mortality, which are properly become the only  
 rule of political arithmetic, it contains about thirty  
 thousand inhabitants, composed of Anabaptists,  
 Quakers, French refugees, English Presbyterians  
 and church of England men. The houses, furni-  
 ture, dress, food, conversation, customs and man-  
 ners are so exactly similar to the mode of living in  
 London, that it is impossible to find any other  
 difference but that which arises from the numbers  
 of people there are in large capitals.

New York  
 founded by  
 the Dutch,  
 passes into  
 the hands  
 of the  
 English.

NEW ENGLAND, which resembles the mother  
 country in so many respects, is contiguous to  
 New-York. The latter bounded on the east by  
 this principal colony, and on the west by New-  
 Jersey, occupies at first a very narrow space of  
 twenty miles along the sea-shore, and insensibly  
 enlarging, extends to the north above a hundred  
 and fifty miles up the country.

THIS country was discovered by Henry Hudson  
 in 1609. That celebrated navigator, after having  
 made vain attempts under the patronage of the  
 Dutch East-India company to discover a north-  
 west passage, veered about to the southward, and  
 coasted along the continent, in hopes of making  
 some useful discovery that might prove a kind of  
 indemnification to the society for the trust they  
 had reposed in him. He entered into a consider-  
 able river, to which he gave his name, and after

recon-



reconnoitering the coast and its inhabitants, re. BOOK  
 turned to Amsterdam from whence he sailed. XVII.

ACCORDING to the European system, which never pays any attention to the people of the new world, this country should have belonged to the Dutch. It was discovered by a man in their service, who took possession of it in their name, and gave up to them any personal right he might have in it. His being an Englishman did not, in the least invalidate these uncontroversible titles. It must therefore, have occasioned great surprize, when James the first asserted his pretensions to it, upon the principle that Hudson was born his subject; as if any man's country was not that in which he earns his subsistence. The king was so convinced of this that he soon gave up the matter; and the republic sent some persons in 1610 to lay the foundation of the colony in a country which was to be called New Belgia. Every thing prospered here; and this fortunate beginning seemed to promise greater success, when in 1664 the colony was exposed to a storm which it could not possibly foresee.

ENGLAND, which had not at that time those intimate connections with Holland, that the ambition and successes of Lewis the XIV. have given birth to since, had long seen with a jealous eye the prosperity of a small state in its neighbourhood, which, though but just formed, was already extending its flourishing trade to all parts of the world. She was secretly disturbed at the thoughts

BOOK of not being on an equality with a power to whom,  
 XVII. in the nature of things, she ought to have been  
 } greatly superior. Her rivals in commerce and  
 navigation by their vigilance and oeconomy, su-  
 perfeded them in all the considerable markets of  
 the universe. Every effort she made to come in  
 competition turned either to her loss or discredit,  
 and she was obliged only to act a secondary part,  
 while all the trade then known was evidently cen-  
 tering itself in the republic. At length, the na-  
 tion felt the disgrace of her merchants, and re-  
 solved that what they could not obtain by industry,  
 should be secured to them by force. Charles the  
 second, notwithstanding his aversion for business,  
 and his immoderate love of pleasure, eagerly  
 adopted a measure which gave him a prospect of  
 acquiring the riches of these distant regions, to-  
 gether with the maritime empire of Europe. His  
 brother, more active and more enterprising than  
 himself, encouraged him in these dispositions, and  
 the deliberation concluded with their ordering the  
 Dutch ships to be attacked without any previous  
 declaration of war.

AN English fleet appeared before New Belgia,  
 in the month of August, with three thousand men  
 on board; and so numerous a force precluding every  
 idea, as well as every hope of resistance, the colony  
 submitted as soon as it was summoned. The con-  
 quest was secured to the English by the treaty of  
 Breda; but it was again taken from them in 1673,  
 when the intrigues of France had found means to set  
 these

these two maritime powers at variance, who for B O O K their mutual interests ought always to be friends. XVII. A second treaty restored New Belgia to the English, who have remained in quiet possession of it ever since under the name of New-York.

It took its name from the duke of York, to whom it was given by the king in 1664. As soon as he had recovered it, he governed it upon the same arbitrary principles which afterwards deprived him of the throne. His deputies, in whose hands were lodged powers of every kind, not contented with the exercise of the public authority, instituted themselves arbitrators in all private disputes. The country was then inhabited by Hollanders, who had preferred these plantations to their own country, and by colonists who had come from New England. These people had been too long accustomed to liberty, to submit patiently for any time to so arbitrary an administration. Every thing seemed tending either to an insurrection or an emigration, when in 1683 the colony was invited to chuse representatives to settle its form of government. Time produced some other changes; but it was not till 1691 that a fixed plan of government was adopted, which has been followed ever since.

At the head of the colony is a governor appointed by the crown, which likewise appoints twelve councillors, without whose concurrence the governor can sign no act. The commons are represented by twenty-seven deputies, chosen by the



BOOK inhabitants, and these several bodies constitute the  
 XVII. general assembly, in which every power is lodged.

The duration of this assembly, originally unlimited, was afterwards fixed at three years, and it now continues seven, like the British parliament, whose revolutions it has followed.

Flourishing state of New York. Causes of its prosperity.

SUPPORTED by a form of government so solid, so favourable to that liberty which makes every thing prosper, the colony pursued in tranquillity all the labours which its situation could require or encourage. A climate much milder than that of New-England, a soil superior to it for the cultivation of corn, and equally fit for that of every other production, soon enabled it to vie successfully with an establishment that had got the start of it in all its productions, and in all the markets. If it was not equal in its manufactures, this inferiority was amply compensated by a fur trade infinitely more considerable. These means of prosperity united to a very great degree of toleration in religious matters, have increased its inhabitants to one hundred and fifty thousand, five and twenty thousand of whom are able to bear arms, and constitute the national militia.

THE colony would still have flourished much more had not its prosperity been obstructed by the fanaticism of two governors, the oppressive conduct of some others, and the extravagant grants made to some individuals in too high favour; but these inconveniences, which are only temporary under the English government, have some

some of them ceased, and the rest of them are lessened. The province may, therefore, expect to see her productions doubly increased, if the two thirds of its territory, which still remain uncleared, should yield as much as that part which has already been cultivated. BOOK  
XVII.

It is impossible to foresee what influence these riches may have upon the minds of the inhabitants; but it is certain they have not yet abused those they have hitherto acquired. The Dutch, who were the first founders of the colony, established in it that spirit of order and oeconomy, which is the characteristic of their nation; and as they always constituted the majority of the people, even after these had changed masters, the example of their decent manners was imitated by all the new colonists brought among them since the place had been conquered. The Germans, compelled to take refuge in America by the persecution which drove them out of the palatinate, or from the other provinces of the empire, were naturally inclined to this simple and modest way of life; and the English and French, who were not accustomed to so much frugality, soon conformed, either from motives of wisdom or emulation, to a mode of living less expensive, and more familiar than that which is regulated by fashion and parade.

WHAT has been the consequence? That the colony has never run in debt with the mother country; that it has by that means preserved an entire

B O O K entire liberty in its sales and purchases; and been  
 XVII. enabled always to give the most advantageous  
 turn to its affairs. Had the representatives carried the same principles into their administration, the province would not have entered precipitately into engagements, the burthen of which it already feels.

THE borders of Hudson's river are decorated and enlivened by the plantations of the colony. It is upon this magnificent canal, which is navigable day and night, in all seasons, and where the tide runs above a hundred and sixty miles within the land, that every thing which is intended for the general market is embarked in vessels of forty or fifty tons burthen. The staple itself, which is near the sea, is extremely well situated for receiving all the merchandise of the province and all that comes from Long Island, which is only separated from the continent by a narrow channel.

THIS island, which takes its name from its figure, is one hundred and twenty miles in length and twelve in breadth. It was formerly very famous for the great number of whales and sea-calves taken in its neighbourhood; but whether the frequent fisheries have driven away these animals, which generally seek quiet seas and desert shores, it is certain they have disappeared, and another species of industry has been found to supply their loss. As the pastures are most excellent, the breeding of all kinds of cattle, and particularly



larly horses, has been much attended to, without B O O K neglecting any other branch of cultivation. All XVII. these different riches flow to the principal market, which is also increased by productions brought from a greater distance. Some parts of New England and New Jersey find their account in pouring their stores into this magazine.

THIS mart is a very considerable town, which at present has the same name as the colony, and is called New York. It was formerly built by the Dutch, who gave it the name of New Amsterdam, in an island called Manahatton, which is fourteen leagues long and not very broad. In 1756, its inhabitants amounted to 10,468 white men, and 2,275 negroes. There is no town where the air is better, or where there is a more general appearance of ease and plenty. Both the public edifices and private houses convey the idea of solidity united to convenience. If the city, however, were attacked with vigour, it would scarcely hold out twenty-four hours, the roads and the town having no other defence except a bad fort and a retrenchment of stone.

NEW YORK, which stands at the distance of about two miles from the mouth of Hudson's river, has, properly speaking, neither port nor basin, but it does not want either, because its road is sufficient. Two hundred and fifty or three hundred ships are dispatched from thence every year for the different ports of Europe and America. England receives but a small part of them, but

B O O K but they are the richest, because their cargo con-  
XVII. sists of furs and beaver skins. The manner in  
which the colony gets possession of these peltries is  
now to be explained.

As soon as the Dutch had built New Amsterdam in a situation which they thought favourable for the intercourse with Europe, they next endeavoured to establish an advantageous trade there. The only thing at that time in request from North America was furs; but as the neighbouring savages offered but few, and those indifferent ones, there was a necessity of going to the north to have them better and in larger quantities. In consequence of this a project was formed for an establishment on the banks of Hudson's river, at 150 miles distance from the capital; and the circumstances fortunately proved favourable for obtaining the consent of the Iroquois, to whom the territory that was wanted, belonged. This brave nation happened to be then at war with the French, who were just arrived in Canada. In consequence of an agreement to supply them with the same arms that their enemies used, they allowed the Dutch to build fort Orange, which was afterwards called fort Albany. There was never the least dispute between the two nations; on the contrary, the Dutch, with the assistance of their powder, lead and guns, which they used to give in exchange for skins, secured to themselves not only what they could get by their own hunting in all  
the

the five countries, but even the spoils collected by the Iroquois warriors in their expeditions.

B O O K  
XVII.

THOUGH the English, upon their taking possession of the colony, maintained the union with the savages, they did not think seriously of extending the fur trade, till the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685, introduced among them the art of making beaver hats. Their efforts were for a long time ineffectual, and there were chiefly two obstacles to their success. The French were accustomed to procure from Albany coverlids, thick worsted stuffs, different iron and copper manufactures, even arms and ammunition; all which they could sell to the savages with the greater advantage as these goods bought at Albany cost them one third less than they would have done any other way. Besides, the American nations, who were separated from New York by the country of the Iroquois, in which no body chose to venture far, could hardly treat with any but the French.

BURNET, who was governor of the English colony in 1720, was either the first who saw the evil, or the first who ventured to strike at the root of it. He prevailed with the general assembly to forbid all communication between Albany and Canada, and then obtained the consent of the Iroquois to build and fortify the factory of Oswego at his own expence, on that part of the lake Ontario, by which most of the savages must pass in their way to Montreal. In consequence of these two operations, the beavers and other peltries were pretty



BOOK pretty equally divided between the French and  
 XVII. English. The accession of Canada cannot but in-  
 crease at present the share New York had in the  
 trade, as the latter is better situated for it than the  
 country which disputed it with her.

If the English colony has gained by the acqui-  
 sition of Canada, it does not appear to have lost  
 any thing by being separated from New Jersey,  
 which formerly made a part of New Belgia, under  
 the title of New Sweden.

In what  
 manner  
 New Jersey  
 fell into  
 the hands  
 of the  
 English.  
 Its present  
 state.

THE Swedes were, in fact, the first Europeans  
 who settled in this region, about the year 1639.  
 Neglected by their own country, which was too  
 weak to be able to extend its protection to them  
 at so great a distance, they were obliged, at the  
 end of sixteen years, to surrender to the Dutch,  
 who united this acquisition to New Belgia. When  
 the duke of York received the grant of the two  
 countries, he separated them, and divided the least  
 of them, called New Jersey, between two of his  
 favourites.

CARTERET and Berkley, the first of whom had  
 received the eastern, and the other the western  
 part of the province, solicited this vast territory  
 with no other view but to put it up to sale. Se-  
 veral speculative persons accordingly bought large  
 districts of them at a low price, which they di-  
 vided and sold again in smaller parcels. In the  
 midst of these subdivisions, the colony became  
 divided into two distinct provinces, each separately  
 governed by the heirs of the original proprietors.

The

The exercise of this right growing at length inconvenient, as, indeed, it was ill adapted to the situation of a subject, they gave up their charter to the crown in 1702; and from that time the two provinces became one, and like the greater part of the other English colonies were under the direction of a governor, a council and a general assembly.

NEW JERSEY, situated between 39 and 40 degrees north latitude, is bounded on the east by New York, on the west by Pennsylvania, on the north by unknown land, and on the south-east by the ocean, which washes its coasts through an extent of 120 miles. This large country before the last revolution contained only sixteen thousand inhabitants, the descendents of Swedes and Dutch, who were its first cultivators, and who were joined by some Quakers and some church of England men, with a greater number of Presbyterians. The faults of government stopped the progress and occasioned the indigence of this small colony. It might, therefore, have been expected that the æra of liberty should have been that of its prosperity; but almost all the Europeans who went to the new world in search either of an asylum or riches, preferring the milder and more fruitful climates of Carolina and Pennsylvania, New Jersey could never recover from its primitive languor. Even at this day, it does not contain above fifty thousand white men; united in villages, or dispersed among the plantations, and twenty thousand blacks.

THE poverty of this province not suffering it at first to open a direct trade with the distant or foreign markets, it began to sell its productions at Philadelphia, and especially at New York, with which there was an easy communication by rivers. It has continued this practice ever since, and receives in exchange from the two cities some of the productions of the mother country. Far, however, from being able to acquire any articles of luxury, it cannot even afford to purchase all the necessaries of life; but is obliged itself to manufacture the greatest part of its clothing.

THERE is of course very little specie in the colony, which is reduced to make use of paper-currency. All its bills together do not amount to more than 1,350,000 livres.\* As they are current both in Pennsylvania and New York, which do not take any of each others bills, they bear an advanced premium above the bills of these two colonies, by being made use of in all the payments between them.

BUT so trifling an advantage will never give any real importance to New Jersey. It is from its own bosom, that is, from the culture of its immense tract of desert country, that it is to draw its vigour and prosperity. As long as it stands in need of intermediate agents it will never recover from the state of languor into which it is plunged. This the colony is thoroughly sensible of, and all its efforts are now directed



to enable it to act for itself. It has even already B O O K made some with success. As far back as the year XVII. 1751, it found means to fit out, at its own expence, thirty-eight vessels bound to Europe, or to the southern isles of America. These vessels carried one hundred and sixty-eight thousand quintals of biscuits, six thousand, four hundred and twenty-four barrels of flour, seventeen thousand, nine hundred and forty-one bushels of corn, three hundred and fourteen barrels of salt beef and pork, fourteen hundred quintals of hemp; together with a pretty large quantity of hams, butter, beer, linseed, bar iron, and wood for building. It is imagined that this direct trade may have increased one third since that time.

THIS beginning of prosperity must raise the emulation, the industry, the hopes, the projects, and the enterprises of a colony, which hitherto has not been able to sustain the part in trade, which its situation seemed to promise it. If there are some poor and feeble states that draw their subsistence and support from the vicinity of others more rich and more brilliant than themselves, there are a far greater number whom such a neighbourhood entirely crushes and destroys. Such, perhaps, has been the fate of New Jersey, as will appear from the history we are going to give of Pennsylvania, which lying too close to this colony has sometimes concealed it with its shadow, sometimes eclipsed it with its splendour.

END OF THE SEVENTEENTH BOOK.

## B O O K XVIII.

*English colonies founded in Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. General reflections on all these settlements.*

BOOK  
XVIII.

The Quakers found Pennsylvania. Manners of that sect.

**L**UTHERANISM, which was destined to cause a remarkable change in Europe, either by its own influence, or by the example it gave, had occasioned a great ferment in the minds of all men; when there arose in the midst of the commotions it excited, a new religion, which at first appeared much more like a rebellion guided by fanaticism than like a sect that was governed by any fixed principles. In fact, the generality of innovators in religion follow a regular system composed of doctrines connected with each other, and in the beginning, at least, take arms only to defend themselves. The Anabaptists, on the contrary, as if they had only looked into the bible for the word of command to attack, lifted up the standard of rebellion, before they had agreed upon a system

of doctrine. It is true, indeed, their leaders had B O O K taught, that it was a ridiculous and useles practice XVIII. to administer baptism to infants, and asserted that their opinion upon this point was the same as that of the primitive church; but they had not yet ever reduced to practice this article of belief, which was the only one that furnished a pretence for their separation. The spirit of sedition prevented them from paying a proper attention to the schismatic tenets on which their division was founded. To shake off the tyrannical yoke of church and state, was their law and their faith. To enlist in the armies of the Lord, to join with the faithful, who were to wield the sword of Gideon, this was their device, their motive, and their signal for rallying.

It was not till after they had carried fire and sword into a great part of Germany, that the anabaptists thought at last of marking and cementing their confederacy by some visible sign of union. Having been united at first by inspiration to raise a body of troops, in 1525 they were united to compose a religious code, and the following were the tenets they adopted.

IN the mixed system of intolerance and mildness by which they are guided, the anabaptist church being the only one in which the pure word of God is taught, neither can nor ought to communicate with any other.

THE spirit of the Lord blowing wheresoever it listeth, the power of preaching is not limited to



BOOK one order of the faithful, but is dispensed to all.  
 XVIII. Every one likewise has the gift of prophecy.

EVERY sect which has not preserved a community of all things which constituted the life and spirit of primitive christianity, has degenerated, and is for that reason an impure society.

MAGISTRATES are useless in a society of the truly faithful. A christian never has occasion for any; nor is a christian allowed to be one himself.

CHRISTIANS are not permitted to take up arms even in their own defence, much less is it lawful for them to enlist as soldiers in mercenary armies.

BOTH law-suits and oaths are forbidden the disciples of Christ, who has commanded them to let their yea, be yea, and their nay, nay.

THE baptism of infants is an invention of the devil and of the pope. The validity of baptism depends upon the voluntary consent of the adults, who alone are able to receive it with a consciousness of the engagement they take upon themselves.

SUCH was in its origin the religious system of the Anabaptists. Though it appears founded on charity and mildness, yet it produced nothing but violence and iniquity. The chimerical idea of an equality of stations is the most dangerous one that can be adopted in a civilized society. To preach this system to the people, is not to put them in mind of their rights, it is leading them on to assassination and plunder. It is letting domestic animals loose, and transforming them into wild beasts,

The rulers of the people must be more enlighten- B O O K  
 ed, or the laws by which they are governed must XVIII.  
 be softened: but there is in fact no such thing in }  
 nature as a real equality; it exists only in the sys-  
 tem of equity. Even the savages themselves are  
 not equal when once they are collected into hords.  
 They are only so, while they wander in the woods;  
 and then the man who suffers the produce of his  
 chase to be taken from him, is not the equal of  
 him who deprives him of it. Such has been the  
 origin of all societies.

A DOCTRINE, the basis of which was the com-  
 munity of goods and equality of ranks, was hardly  
 calculated to find partisans any where but among  
 the poor. The peasants therefore adopted it with  
 the greater enthusiasm, in proportion as the yoke  
 from which it delivered them was more insupport-  
 able. The far greater part, especially those who  
 were condemned to slavery, rose up in arms on  
 all sides, to support a doctrine, which, from being  
 vassals, made them equal to their lords. The ap-  
 prehension of seeing one of the first bands of so-  
 ciety, obedience to the magistrate, broken, united  
 all other sects against them, who could not subsist  
 without subordination. After having carried on a  
 more obstinate resistance than could have been ex-  
 pected, they yielded at length to the number of  
 their enemies. Their sect, notwithstanding it had  
 made its way all over Germany, and into a part  
 of the north, was no where prevalent, because it  
 had been every where opposed and dispersed. It

B O O K was but just tolerated in those countries, in which  
XVIII. the greatest latitude of opinion was allowed; and  
there was not any state in which it was able to settle  
a church, authorised by the civil power. This of  
course weakened it, and from obscurity it fell into  
contempt. Its only glory is that of having, per-  
haps, contributed to the foundation of the sect of  
quakers.

THIS humane and peaceable sect arose in Eng-  
land amidst the confusions of that bloody war,  
which terminated in a monarch's being dragged to  
the scaffold by his own subjects. The founder of  
it George Fox, was of the lower class of the peo-  
ple; a man who had been formerly a mechanic,  
but whom a singular and contemplative turn of  
mind had induced to quit his profession. In order  
to wean himself entirely from all earthly affections,  
he broke off all connections with his own family;  
and for fear of being tempted to renew them, he  
determined to have no fixed abode. He often  
wandered alone in the woods, without any other  
amusement but his bible. In time he even learned  
to go without that, when he thought he had ac-  
quired from it a degree of inspiration similar to  
that of the apostles and the prophets.

HE then began to think of making proselytes,  
in which he found no difficulty in a country where  
the minds of all men were filled and disturbed  
with enthusiastic notions. He was, therefore, soon  
followed by a multitude of disciples, the novelty  
and singularity of whose opinions upon incompre-  
hensible



hensible subjects could not fail of attracting and fascinating all those who were fond of the marvellous.

THE first thing, by which they caught the eye, was the simplicity of their dress, in which there was no gold or silver lace, no embroidery, laces, or ruffles, and from which they affected to banish every thing that was superfluous or unnecessary. They would not suffer either a button in the hat, or a plait in the coat, because it was possible to do without them. Such an extraordinary contempt for established modes reminded those who adopted it, that it became them to be more virtuous than the rest of men, from whom they distinguished themselves by this external modesty.

ALL outward marks of deference which the pride and tyranny of mankind exact from those who are unable to refuse them, were disdained by the quakers, who disclaimed the names of master and servant. They condemn'd all titles as being tokens of pride in those who claimed them, and as meanness in those who bestowed them. They did not allow to any person whatever the appellation of eminence or excellence, and so far they might be in the right; but they refused to comply with those reciprocal demonstrations of respect which we call politeness, and in this they were to blame. The name of friend, they said, was not to be refused by one christian or citizen to another, but the ceremony of bowing they considered as ridiculous and troublesome. To pull off the hat they held

B O O K to be a want of respect to a man's self; in order to  
 XVIII. shew it to others. They carried this idea so far,  
 { that even the magistrates could not compel them to  
 any external mark of reverence; but they address-  
 ed both them and princes according to the ancient  
 majesty of language, in the second person and in  
 the singular number.

THE austerity of their morals ennobled the sin-  
 gularity of their manners. The use of arms,  
 considered in every light, appeared a crime to  
 them. If it was to attack, it was violating the  
 laws of humanity, if to defend one's self, it was  
 breaking through those of christianity. Universal  
 peace was the gospel they had agreed to profess.  
 If any one smote a quaker upon one cheek, he im-  
 mediately presented the other; if any one asked  
 him for his coat, he offered his waistcoat too. No-  
 thing could engage these equitable men to demand  
 more than the lawful price for their work, or to  
 take less than what they demanded. An oath even  
 before a magistrate and in support of a just cause  
 they deemed to be a profanation of the name of  
 God, in any of the wretched disputes that arise  
 between weak and perishable beings.

THE contempt they entertained for the outward  
 forms of politeness in civil life was changed into  
 aversion for the ritual and ceremonial parts of re-  
 ligion. They looked upon churches merely as the  
 ostentatious edifices of priestcraft, they considered  
 the sabbath as a pernicious and idle institution, and  
 baptism and the Lord's supper as ridiculous sym-  
 bols.


books. For this reason, they rejected all regular BOOK orders of clergy. Every one of the faithful they XVIII. imagined received an immediate illumination from the Holy Ghost, which gave a character far superior to that of the priesthood. When they were assembled together, the first person who found himself inspired arose and imparted the lights he had received from heaven. Even women were often favoured with this gift of speech, which they called the gift of prophecy; sometimes many of these holy brethren spoke at the same time; but much more frequently a profound silence prevailed in their assemblies.

THE enthusiasm occasioned both by their meditations and discourses, excited such a degree of sensibility in the nervous system, that it threw them into convulsions, for which reason they were called quakers. To have cured these people in process of time of their folly, nothing more was requisite than to turn it into ridicule; but instead of this persecution contributed to make it more general. While every other new sect met with encouragement, this was exposed to every kind of punishment; imprisonments, whippings, pillories, mad houses, were none of them thought too terrible for bigots, whose only crime was that of wanting to be virtuous and reasonable over-much. The constancy with which they bore their sufferings, at first excited compassion and afterwards admiration for them. Even Cromwell, who had been one of their most violent enemies, because they used to  
 infi-



B O O K insinuate themselves into his camps, and dissuade  
 XVIII. his soldiers from their profession, gave them public marks of his esteem. His policy exerted itself in endeavouring to draw them into his party, in order to conciliate to himself a higher degree of respect and consideration, but they either eluded his invitations or rejected them, and he afterwards confessed that this was the only religion which was not to be influenced by bribery.

AMONG the several persons who cast a temporary lustre on the sect, the only one who deserves to be remembered by posterity, is William Penn. He was the son of an admiral, who had been fortunate enough to be equally distinguished by Cromwell, and the two Stuarts, who held the reins of government after him. This able seaman, more supple and more insinuating than men of his profession usually are, had made several considerable advances to government in the different expeditions in which he had been engaged. The misfortunes of the times had not admitted of the repayment of these loans during his life, and as affairs were not in a better situation at his death, it was proposed to his son, that instead of money, he should accept of an immense territory in America. It was a country, which though long since discovered and surrounded by English colonies, had always been neglected. A spirit of benevolence made him accept with pleasure this kind of patrimony, which was ceded to him almost as a sovereignty, and he determined to make it the abode  
 of

of virtue, and the asylum of the unfortunate. B O O K  
 With this generous design, towards the end of XVIII.  
 the year 1681, he set sail for his new possessions,   
 which from that time took the name of Pennsyl-  
 vania. All the quakers were desirous to follow  
 him, in order to avoid the persecution raised  
 against them by the clergy, on account of their  
 not complying with the tithes and other ecclesiastical  
 fees; but from prudential motives he de-  
 clined taking over any more than two thou-  
 sand.

His arrival in the new world was signalized by Upon what  
 an act of equity which made his person and prin- principles  
 ciples equally beloved. Not thoroughly satisfied Pensylva-  
 with the right given him to his extensive terri- nia was  
 tory, by the grant he had received of it from the founded.  
 British ministry, he determined to make it his own  
 property by purchasing it of the natives. The  
 price he gave to the savages is not known; but  
 though some people accuse them of stupidity for  
 consenting to part with what they never ought to  
 have alienated upon any terms; yet Penn is not  
 less entitled to the glory of having given an ex-  
 ample of moderation and justice in America, which  
 was never thought of before by the Europeans.  
 He made himself as much as possible a legal pos-  
 sessor of the territory, and by the use he made of  
 it supplied any deficiency there might be in the  
 validity of his title. The Americans entertained  
 as great an affection for his colony, as they had  
 conceived an aversion for all those which had been  
 founded

BOOK XVIII. founded in their neighbourhood without their consent. From that time there arose a mutual confidence between the two people, founded upon good faith, which nothing has ever been able to shake.

PENN's humanity could not be confined to the savages only, it extended itself to all those who were desirous of living under his laws. Sensible that the happiness of the people depended upon the nature of the legislation, he founded his upon those two first principles of public splendour and private felicity, liberty and property. The mind dwells with pleasure on this part of modern history, and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust, horror, or melancholy, which the whole of it, but particularly the account of the European settlements in America inspires. Hitherto we have only seen these barbarians depopulating the country before they took possession of it, and laying every thing waste before they cultivated. It is time to observe the dawnings of reason, happiness and humanity rising from among the ruins of a hemisphere, which still reeks with the blood of all its people, civilized as well as savage.

THIS virtuous legislator made toleration the basis of his society. He admitted every man who acknowledged a God to the rights of a citizen, and made every christian eligible to state-employments. But he left every one at liberty to invoke the supreme being as he thought proper, and neither established a reigning church in Pennsylvania, nor exacted



exacted contributions for building places of public worship, nor compelled any persons to attend them. BOOK XVIII.

DESIROUS of immortalizing his name, he vested in his family the right of nominating the chief governor of the colony; but he ordained that no profits should be annexed to his employment, except such as were voluntarily granted; and that he should have no authority without the concurrence of the deputies of the people. All the citizens who had an interest in the law, by having one in the object of it, were to be electors and might be chosen. To avoid as much as possible every kind of corruption, it was ordained that the representatives should be chosen by suffrages privately given. To establish a law, a plurality of voices was sufficient; but a majority of two thirds was necessary to settle a tax. Such a tax as this was certainly more like a free gift than a subsidy demanded by government; but was it possible to grant less indulgences to men who were come so far in search of peace?

SUCH was the opinion of that real philosopher Penn. He gave a thousand acres to all those who could afford to pay 430 livres \* for them. Every one who could not, obtained for himself, his wife, each of his children above sixteen years old, and each of his servants fifty acres of land, for the annual quit-rent of one sol, ten deniers and a half † per acre.

To

\* 19l. 13s. 6d.

† About one penny.

BOOK XVIII. To fix these properties for ever he established tribunals to maintain the laws made for the preservation of property. But it is not protecting the property of lands to make those who are in possession of them purchase the decree of justice that secures them: for in that case every individual is obliged to part with some of his property in order to secure the rest; and law, when protracted, exhausts the very treasures it should preserve, and the property it should defend. Lest any persons should be found whose interest it might be to encourage or prolong law-suits, he forbid under very strict penalties all those who were engaged in the administration of justice, to receive any salary or gratification whatsoever. And further, every district was obliged to chuse three arbitrators, whose business it was to endeavour to prevent, and accommodate any disputes that might happen, before they were carried into a court of justice.

THIS attention to prevent law-suits sprang from the desire of preventing crimes. All the laws, that they might have no vices to punish, were calculated to put a stop to them even in their very sources, poverty and idleness. It was enacted that every child above twelve years old, should be obliged to learn a profession, let his condition be what it would. This regulation at the same time that it secured the poor man a subsistence, furnished the rich man with a resource against every reverse of fortune, preserved the natural equality of mankind, by recalling to every man's remembrance

brance his original destination, which is that of BOOK labour, either of the mind or of the body. XVIII.

SUCH primary institutions would be necessarily productive of an excellent legislation; and accordingly the advantages of that established by Penn, were manifested in the rapid and continued prosperity of Pennsylvania, which, without either wars, conquests, struggles, or any of those revolutions which attract the eyes of the vulgar, soon excited the admiration of the whole universe. Its neighbours, notwithstanding their savage state, were softened by the sweetness of its manners, and distant nations, notwithstanding their corruption, paid homage to its virtues. All were delighted to see those heroic days of antiquity realized, which European manners and laws had long taught every one to consider as entirely fabulous.

PENNSYLVANIA is defended on the east by the Prosperity of Pennsylvania. ocean, on the north by New York and New Jersey, on the south by Virginia and Maryland, on the west by the Indians; on all sides by friends, and within itself by the virtue of its inhabitants. Its coasts, which are at first very narrow, extend gradually to 120 miles, and the breadth of it, which has no other limits than its population and culture, already comprehends 145 miles. The sky of the colony is pure and serene, and the climate naturally very wholesome, has been rendered still more so by cultivation; the waters equally salubrious and clear, always flow upon a bed of rock or sand; and the year is temperèd by the regular return



B O O K return of the seasons. Winter, which begins in  
 XVIII. the month of January, lasts till the end of March.

As it is seldom accompanied with clouds or fogs, the cold is, generally speaking, moderate; sometimes, however, sharp enough to freeze the largest rivers in a night's time. This change, which is as short as it is sudden, is occasioned by the north-west winds, which blow from the mountains and lakes of Canada. The spring is ushered in by soft rains and a gentle heat, which increases gradually till the end of June. The heats of the dog-days would be insupportable were it not for the refreshing breezes of the south-west wind; but this relief, though pretty constant, sometimes exposes the inhabitants to hurricanes that blow down whole forests, and tear up trees by the roots, especially in the neighbourhood of the sea, where they are most violent. The three autumnal months are commonly attended with no other inconvenience but that of being too rainy.

THOUGH the country is unequal, it is not on that account less fertile. The soil in some places consists of a yellow and black sand, in others it is gravelly and sometimes it is a greyish ash-colour upon a stony bottom; generally speaking, it is a rich earth, particularly between the rivulets, which intersecting it in all directions, contribute more to the fertility of the country than navigable rivers would.

WHEN the Europeans first came into the country, they found nothing but wood for building and iron mines. In process of time, by cutting  
 down

down the trees, and clearing the ground, they covered it with innumerable herds, a great variety of fruits, plantations of flax and hemp, many kinds of vegetables, every sort of grain, and especially rye and maize; which a happy experience had shewn to be particularly proper to the climate. Cultivation was carried on in all parts with such vigour and success as excited the astonishment of all nations.

FROM whence could arise this extraordinary prosperity? From that civil and religious liberty which have attracted the Swedes, Dutch, French, and particularly some laborious Germans into that country. It has been the joint work of Quakers, Anabaptists, members of the church of England, Methodists, Presbyterians, Moravians, Lutherans and Catholics.

AMONG the numerous sects which abound in this country, a very distinguished one is that of the Dumplers. It was founded by a German, who, weary of the world, retired to an agreeable solitude within fifty miles of Philadelphia, in order to be more at liberty to give himself up to contemplation. Curiosity brought several of his countrymen to visit his retreat, and by degrees his pious, simple and peaceable manners induced them to settle near him, and they all formed a little colony which they called Euphrates, in allusion to the Hebrews, who used to sing psalms on the borders of that river.

BOOK XVIII. THIS little city forms a triangle, the outsides of which are bordered with mulberry and apple-trees, planted with regularity. In the middle of the town is a very large orchard, and between the orchard and these ranges of trees are houses, built of wood, three stories high, where every Dumpler is left to enjoy the pleasures of his meditations without disturbance. These contemplative men do not amount to above five hundred in all; their territory is about 250 acres in extent, the boundaries of which are marked by a river, a piece of stagnated water, and a mountain covered with trees.

THE men and women live in separate quarters of the city. They never see each other but at places of worship, nor are there any assemblies of any kind but for public business. Their life is spent in labour, prayer and sleep. Twice every day and night they are called forth from their cells to attend divine service. Like the Methodists and Quakers, every individual among them has the right of preaching when he thinks himself inspired. The favourite subjects on which they discourse in their assemblies, are humility, temperance, chastity, and the other christian virtues. They never violate that day of repose, which all orders of men, whether idle or laborious, much delight in. They admit a hell and a paradise; but reject the eternity of future punishments. They abhor the doctrine of original sin as an impious blasphemy, and in general every tenet that is



is severe to man appears to them injurious to the divinity. As they do not allow merit to any but voluntary works, they only administer baptism to the adult. At the same time they think baptism so essentially necessary to salvation, that they imagine the souls of christians in another world are employed in converting those who have not died under the law of the gospel.

STILL more disinterested than the Quakers, they never allow themselves any law-suits. One may cheat, rob and abuse them without ever being exposed to any retaliation, or even any complaint from them. Religion has the same effect on them that philosophy had upon the Stoics; it makes them insensible to every kind of insult.

NOTHING can be plainer than their dress. In winter, it is a long white gown, from whence there hangs a hood, which serves instead of a hat, a coarse shirt, thick shoes, and very wide breeches. The only difference in summer, is, that linen is used instead of woollen. The women are dressed much like the men, except that they have no breeches.


THEIR common food consists wholly of vegetables, not because it is unlawful to eat any other, but because that kind of abstinence is looked upon as more conformable to the spirit of christianity which has an aversion for blood. Each individual follows with chearfulness the branch of business allotted to him. The produce of all their labours is deposited in a common stock, in order to supply

BOOK XVIII. the necessities of every one. This union of industry has not only established agriculture, manufactures, and all the arts necessary for the support of this little society, but hath also supplied for the purposes of exchange, superfluities proportioned to the degree of its population.

THOUGH the two sexes live separate at Euphrates, the Dumplers do not on that account foolishly renounce matrimony: but those who find themselves disposed to it leave the city, and form an establishment in the country, which is supported at the public expence. They repay this by the produce of their labours, which is all thrown into the public treasury, and their children are sent to be educated in the mother country. Without this wise privilege the Dumplers would be no better than monks, and in process of time would become either savages or libertines.

THE most edifying, and at the same time the most extraordinary circumstance, is the harmony that subsists between all the sects established in Pensylvania, notwithstanding the difference of their religious opinions. Though not all of the same church, they all love and cherish one another as children of the same father. They have always continued to live like brethren, because they had the liberty of thinking as men. To this delightful harmony must be attributed more particularly the rapid progress of the colony.

AT the beginning of the year 1766 its population amounted to 150,000 white people. The number

number must have been considerably increased B O O K  
 since that period, having doubled every fifteen XVIII.  
 years, according to Mr. Franklin's calculations.   
 There were thirty thousand blacks in the pro-  
 vince, who though they met with less ill usage  
 in this province than in the others, were still ex-  
 ceedingly unhappy. A circumstance, however, not  
 easily believed is, that the subjection of the ne-  
 groes has not corrupted the morals of their mas-  
 ters; their manners are still pure, and even auf-  
 tere, in Pensylvania. Is this singular advantage  
 to be ascribed to the climate, the laws, the reli-  
 gion, the emulation constantly subsisting between  
 the different sects or to some other particular  
 cause? Let the reader determine this question.

THE Pensylvanians are in general well made,  
 and their women of an agreeable figure. As they  
 sooner become mothers than in Europe, they sooner  
 cease breeding. If the heat of the climate seems  
 on the one hand to hasten the operations of na-  
 ture, its inconstancy weakens them on the other.  
 There is no place where the temperature of the  
 sky is more uncertain, for it sometimes changes  
 five or six times in the same day.

As however these varieties neither have any dan-  
 gerous influence upon the vegetables, nor destroy  
 the harvests, there is a constant plenty, and an  
 universal appearance of ease. The oeconomy which  
 is so particularly attended to in Pensylvania, does  
 not prevent both sexes from being well cloathed;  
 and their food is still preferable in its kind to their



BOOK cloathing. The families, whose circumstances are  
 XVIII. the least easy, have all of them bread, meat, cy-  
 der, beer and rum. A very great number are able  
 to afford to drink constantly French and Spanish  
 wines, punch and even liquors of a higher price.  
 The abuse of these strong drinks is less frequent  
 than in other places, but is not without ex-  
 ample.

THE pleasing view of this abundance is never  
 disturbed by the melancholy appearance of pover-  
 ty. There are no poor in all Pensylvania. All  
 those whose birth or fortune have left them with-  
 out resources are suitably provided for out of the  
 public treasury. The spirit of benevolence is car-  
 ried still further, and is extended even to the most  
 engaging hospitality. A traveller is welcome to  
 stop in any place, without the apprehensions of  
 giving the least uneasy sensation, except that of  
 regret for his departure.

THE happiness of the colony is not disturbed  
 by the oppressive burden of taxes. In 1766, they  
 did not amount to more than 280,140. livres\*.  
 Most of them, even those that were designed to  
 repair the damages of war, were to cease in 1722.  
 If the people did not experience this alleviation at  
 that period, it was owing to the irruptions of the  
 savages, which had occasioned extraordinary ex-  
 pences. This trifling inconvenience would not  
 have been attended to, if Penn's family could  
 have been prevailed upon to contribute to the  
 public

public expences, in proportion to the revenue they obtain from the province: a circumstance required by the inhabitants, and which in equity they ought to have complied with. BOOK  
XVIII.

THE Pensylvanians; happy possessors, and peaceable tenants of a country that usually renders them twenty or thirty fold for whatever they lay out upon it, are not restrained by fear from the propagation of their species. There is hardly an unmarried person to be met with in the country. Marriage is the more happy and the more revered for it; the freedom as well as the sanctity of it depends upon the choice of the parties: they chuse the lawyer and the priest rather as witnesses, than as the means to cement their engagement. Whenever two lovers meet with any opposition, they go off on horseback together, the man gets behind his mistress, and in this situation they present themselves before the magistrate, where the girl declares she has run away with her lover, and that they are come to be married. So solemn an avowal cannot be rejected, nor has any person a right to give them any molestation. In all other cases, paternal authority is excessive. The head of a family, whose affairs are involved, is allowed to sell his children to his creditors; a punishment one should imagine very sufficient to induce an affectionate father to attend to his affairs. An adult discharges in one year's service a debt of 120 livres, 10 sols\*; children under twelve years of age

R 4

are

\* 4l. 18s. 8d.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

BOOK are obliged to serve till they are one and twenty, XVIII. in order to pay off 135 livres\*. This is an image of the old patriarchal manners of the east.

THOUGH there are several villages, and even some cities in the colony, most of the inhabitants may be said to live separately, as it were, within their families. Every proprietor of land has his house in the midst of a large plantation entirely surrounded with quickset hedges. Of course each parish is near twelve or fifteen leagues in circumference. This distance of the churches makes the ceremonies of religion have little effect, and still less influence. Children are not baptised till a few months, and sometimes not till a year or two after their birth.

ALL the pomp of religion seems to be reserved for the last honours man receives before he is shut up in the grave for ever. As soon as any person is dead in the country, the nearest neighbours have notice given them of the day of the burial. These spread it in the habitations next to theirs, and within a few hours the news is thus conveyed to a distance. Every family sends at least one person to attend the funeral. As they come in they are presented with punch and cake. When the assembly is complete, the corpse is carried to the burying ground belonging to his sect, or if that should be at too great a distance, into one of the fields belonging to the family. There is generally a train of four or five hundred persons on horse-

\* 5l. 18s. 1d.  $\frac{1}{2}$



horseback, who observe a continual silence, and BOOK have all the external appearance suitable to the XVIII. melancholy nature of the ceremony. One singular circumstance is, that the Pensylvanians who are the greatest enemies to parade during their lives, seem to forget this character of modesty at their deaths. They are all desirous that the poor remains of their short lives should be attended with a funeral pomp proportioned to their rank or fortune.

It is a general observation that plain and virtuous people, even those that are savage and poor, pay great attention to the ordering of their funerals. The reason is, that they look upon these last honours as duties of the survivors, and the duties themselves as so many distinct proofs of that principle of love, which is very strong in private families while they are in a state nearest to that of nature. It is not the dying man himself who exacts these honours; his parents, his wife, his children voluntarily pay them to the ashes of a husband and father that has deserved to be lamented. These ceremonies have always more numerous attendants in small societies than in larger ones, because though there are fewer families upon the whole, the number of individuals there is much larger, and all the ties that connect them with each other are much stronger. This kind of intimate union has been the reason why so many small nations have overcome larger ones; it drove Xerxes  
and

BOOK and the Persians out of Greece, and it will some  
XVIII. time or other expel the French from Corfica.

**B**UT from whence does Pensylvania get the articles necessary for her own consumption, and in what manner does she contrive to be abundantly furnished with them? With the flax and hemp that is produced at home, and the cotton she procures from South America, she fabricates a great quantity of ordinary linens; and with the wool that comes from Europe she manufactures many coarse cloaths. Whatever her own industry is not able to furnish, she purchases with the produce of her territory. Her ships carry over to the English, French, Dutch, and Danish islands, biscuit, flour, butter, cheese, tallow, vegetables, fruits, salt meat, cyder, beer, and all sorts of wood for building. The cotton, sugar, coffee, brandy and money received in exchange, are so many materials for a fresh commerce with the mother country, and with other European nations as well as with other colonies. The Azores, Madeira, the Canaries, Spain and Portugal, open an advantageous market for the corn and wood of Pensylvania, which they purchase with wine and piastres. The mother country receives from Pensylvania iron, flax, leather, furs, linseed oil, masts and yards, for which it returns thread, wool, fine cloths, tea, Irish and India linens, hardware, and other articles of luxury or necessity. But as England sells a greater quantity of merchandise to the colony than she purchases from it, she may be considered

as a gulph in which, all the specie Pennsylvania has B O O K drawn from the other parts of the world, is lost. In XVIII. 1723, England sent over goods to Pennsylvania only to the value of 250,000 livres \*; at present she furnishes to the amount of 10,000,000 †. It is impossible that the colonists should pay so considerable a sum, even though they should deprive themselves of all the gold they receive from other markets; nor will they ever be able to do this, while the clearing of their lands requires greater expences than the produce will enable them to answer. Our colonies which enjoy almost exclusively some branches of trade, such as rice, tobacco, and indigo, must have grown rich very rapidly. Pennsylvania whose riches are founded on agriculture and the increase of her flocks, will acquire them more gradually; but her prosperity will be fixed upon a more firm and permanent basis.

If any circumstance can retard the progress of the colony, it must be the irregular manner in which the plantations are formed. Penn's family, who are the proprietors of all the lands, grant them indiscriminately in all parts, and in as large a proportion as they are required, provided they are paid fifty crowns ‡ for each hundred acres, and that the purchasers agree to give an annual rent of about one sol §. The consequence of this is, that the province wants that sort of connection which is so necessary in all establishments, and that the scattered

\* 10,937l. 10s.

† 437,500l.

‡ 6l. 11s. 3d.

§ About one halfpenny.



BOOK XVIII. tered inhabitants easily become the prey of the most insignificant enemy that ventures to attack them.

THERE are different ways of clearing the lands which are followed in the colony. Sometimes a huntsman will settle in the midst of a forest, or quite close to it. His nearest neighbours assist him in cutting down trees, and placing them one above another: and this constitutes a house. Around this spot he cultivates, without any assistance, a garden or a field, sufficient to subsist himself and his family.

A few years after the first labours are finished, some more active or richer men arrive from the mother country. They indemnify the huntsman for his labour, and agree with the proprietors of the provinces for some lands that have not yet been paid for. They build more commodious habitations, and clear a greater extent of territory.

AT length some Germans, who come into the new world from inclination, or are driven into it by persecution, complete these settlements that are as yet unfinished. The first and second order of planters remove into other parts, with a more considerable stock for carrying on agriculture than they had at first.

THE annual exports of Pennsylvania may be valued at 25,000 tons. It receives four hundred ships, and fits out about an equal number. They all

all in general come into Philadelphia, which is the capital, from whence they are also dispatched.

B O O K  
XVIII.

THIS famous city, whose very name recalls every humane feeling, is situated at the conflux of the Delaware and the Schuylkill, about 120 miles from the sea. Penn, who destined it for the metropolis of a great empire, designed it to be one mile in breadth and two in length between the rivers, but its population has proved insufficient to cover this extent of ground. Hitherto the banks of the Delaware are only built upon; but without giving up the ideas of the legislator, or deviating from his plan. These precautions are highly proper. Philadelphia must become the most considerable city of America, because the colony must necessarily improve greatly, and its productions must pass through the harbour of the capital before they arrive at the sea.

THE streets of Philadelphia, which are all regular, are in general fifty feet broad; the two principal ones are a hundred. On each side of them there are foot-paths defended by posts, placed at different distances. The houses, each of which has its garden and orchard, are commonly two stories high, and are built either of brick, or of a kind of soft stone, which grows hard by being exposed to the air. Till very lately the walls had but little thickness, because they were only intended to support a covering of a very light kind of wood. Since the discovery of slate quarries, the walls have acquired a solidity proportioned to the weight of

of

BOOK of the new roofs. The present buildings have received an additional decoration from a kind of marble of different colours, which is found about a mile out of the town. Of this, tables, chimney-pieces, and other household furniture are made; besides which it is become a pretty considerable article of commerce with the greatest part of America.

THESE valuable materials could not have been found in common in the houses, unless they had been lavished in the churches. Every sect has its own church, and some of them have several. But there are a pretty considerable number of citizens, who have neither churches, priests, nor any public form of worship, and who are still happy, humane and virtuous.

THE town-house is a building held in as much veneration, though not so much frequented as the churches. It is constructed with the greatest magnificence. There the legislators of the colony assemble every year, and more frequently if necessary, to settle every thing relative to public business. All matters debated in this assembly are submitted to the authority of the nation, and are discussed by its representatives. Next to the town-house is a most elegant library, formed in 1742 under the care of the learned Dr. Franklin, and consisting of the best English, French and Latin authors. It is only open to the public on Saturdays. The founders have free access to it the whole year. Others pay a trifle for the loan of  
the



the books, and a forfeit if they are not returned BOOK  
 at a stated time. This little fund, which is con- XVIII.  
 stantly accumulating, is appropriated to the in- }  
 crease of the library, to which have been lately ad-  
 ded, in order to make it more useful, some ma-  
 thematical and philosophical instruments, with a  
 very fine cabinet of natural history.

THE college, which is intended to prepare the  
 mind for the attainment of all the sciences, was  
 founded in 1749. At first, it only initiated the  
 youth in the Belles Lettres. In 1764, a class of  
 medicine was established there. Knowledge of  
 every kind, and masters in every science will in-  
 crease, in proportion as the lands, which are be-  
 come their patrimony, shall yield a greater pro-  
 duce. If ever despotism, superstition or war  
 should plunge Europe again into that state of bar-  
 barism out of which philosophy and the arts have  
 extricated it, the sacred fire will be kept alive in  
 Philadelphia, and come from thence to enlighten  
 the world.

THIS city is amply supplied with every assistance  
 human nature can require, and with all the re-  
 sources industry can make use of. Its keys, the  
 principal of which is two hundred feet wide, pre-  
 sent a suite of convenient warehouses and docks  
 ingeniously contrived for ship-building. Ships of  
 five hundred tons may land there without any dif-  
 ficulty, except in times of frost. There is taken  
 on board the merchandise which has either been  
 brought by the rivers Schuylkill and Delaware, or  
 car-

B O O K carried along better roads than are to be met with  
 XVIII. in most parts of Europe. Police has made a  
 } greater progress in this part of the new world, than  
 among the most ancient nations of the old.

It is impossible to determine precisely the population of Philadelphia, as the bills of mortality are not kept with any exactness, and there are several sects who do not christen their children. It appears a fact, however, that in 1766 it contained 20,000 inhabitants. As most of them are employed in the sale of the productions of the colony, and in supplying it with what they draw from abroad, their fortunes must necessarily be very considerable; and they must increase still further, in proportion as the cultivation advances in a country where not above one sixth of the land has hitherto been cleared.

PHILADELPHIA, as well as Newcastle and the other cities of Pennsylvania, is entirely open. The whole country is equally without defence. This is a necessary consequence of the principles of the Quakers, who have always maintained the principal influence in the public deliberations, though they do not form above one third part of the inhabitants of the colony. These sectaries cannot be too much favoured on account of their modesty, probity, love of labour and benevolence. One might, perhaps, be tempted to accuse their legislation of imprudence and temerity.

It may, perhaps, be said, that when the founders of the colony established that civil security  
 which





BOOK XVIII. Quaker, who is a good man, wants only a brother from whom he may receive, or to whom he may give assistance. Let then the warlike nations, let people who are either slaves or tyrants, go into Pennsylvania; there they will find all avenues open to them, all property at their disposal; not a single soldier, but numbers of merchants and farmers. But if these inhabitants are tormented, restrained or oppressed, they will fly, and leave their lands uncultivated, their manufactures destroyed, and their warehouses empty. They will cultivate, and spread population in some new land; they will go round the world, and perish in their progress, rather than turn their arms against their pursuers, or submit to bear the yoke. Their enemies will have only gained the hatred of mankind, and the execration of posterity.

It is upon this view of things and on this foresight, that the Pennsylvanians found the opinion of their future security. At present they have nothing to fear from the country that lies behind them, since the French have lost Canada; and the flanks of the colony are sufficiently defended by the English settlements. Besides, as they do not perceive that the most warlike states are the most permanent; that mistrust, which is ever upon its guard, makes men rest with greater tranquillity; or that there can be any satisfaction in the possession of any thing that is kept with such apprehensions; they enjoy the present moment, without any concern for the future. Perhaps too, they may think themselves secured

cured by those very precautions that are taken in B O O K  
 the colonies that surround them. One of the bar- XVIII.  
 riers or bulwarks that preserves Pennsylvania from a  
 maritime invasion to which it is exposed, is Vir-  
 ginia.

VIRGINIA, which was intended to denote all Wretched  
 that extensive space which the English proposed to state of  
 occupy in the continent of North-America, is at Virginia at  
 present confined within much narrower limits. It its first set-  
 now comprehends only that country, which is tlement.  
 bounded to the north by Maryland; to the south  
 by Carolina; to the west by the Apalachian  
 mountains, and to the east by the ocean. This  
 tract is two hundred and forty miles in length,  
 and two hundred in breadth.

THE English landed at Virginia in 1606; and  
 their first settlement was James-Town. Unfortu-  
 nately, the object that first presented itself to them  
 was a rivulet, which, issuing from a sand-bank,  
 carried along with it a quantity of talc, which  
 glittered at the bottom of a clear and running  
 water. In an age when gold and silver mines  
 were the only objects of mens researches, this des-  
 picable substance was immediately taken for  
 silver. The first and only employment of the new  
 colonists was to collect it; and the illusion was  
 carried so far, that two ships which arrived there  
 with necessaries were sent home so fully freighted  
 with these imaginary riches, that there scarce re-  
 mained any room for a few furs. As long as the  
 infatuation lasted, the colonists disdained to em-

BOOK ploy themselves in clearing the lands; so that a  
 XVIII. dreadful famine was at last the consequence of this  
 foolish pride. Sixty men only remained alive out  
 of five hundred that came from Europe. These  
 few, having only a fortnight's provision left, were  
 upon the point of embarking for Newfoundland,  
 when lord Delaware arrived there with three ships,  
 a fresh colony and supplies of all kinds.

HISTORY has described this nobleman to us as  
 a man whose genius raised him above the common  
 prejudices of the times. His disinterestedness was  
 equal to his knowledge. In accepting the go-  
 vernment of the colony, which was still in its in-  
 fancy, he had no motive but to gratify the incli-  
 nation a virtuous mind has to do good, and to se-  
 cure the esteem of posterity, which is the second  
 reward of that generosity that devotes itself totally  
 to the service of the public. As soon as he ap-  
 peared, the knowledge of his character procured  
 him universal respect. He first endeavoured to  
 reconcile the wretched colonists to their fatal coun-  
 try, to comfort them in their sufferings, to make  
 them hope for a speedy conclusion of them. Af-  
 ter this, joining the firmness of an enlightened  
 magistrate to the tenderness of a good father, he  
 taught them how to direct their labours to an use-  
 ful end. Unfortunately for the reviving colony,  
 Delaware's declining health soon obliged him to  
 return to Europe; but he never lost sight of his  
 favourite colonists, nor ever failed to make use of  
 all his credit and interest at court to support them.



The colony, however, made but little progress, a BOOK circumstance that was attributed to the oppression XVIII. of exclusive privileges. The company which exercised them was dissolved upon Charles the first's accession to the throne, and from that time Virginia was under the immediate direction of the crown, which exacted no more than a rent of 2 livres, 5 sols\* upon every hundred acres that were cultivated.

TILL this time the colonists had known no true enjoyment of property. Every individual wandered where chance directed him, or fixed himself in the place he liked best, without consulting any titles or agreements. At length, boundaries were ascertained, and those who had been so long wanderers, now become citizens, had determined limits to their plantations. The establishment of this first law of society changed the appearance of ever thing. New buildings arose on every side, and were surrounded by fresh plantations. This activity drew great numbers of enterprising men over to Virginia, who came either in search of fortune, or of liberty, which is the only compensation for the want of it. The memorable troubles that produced a change in the constitution of England added to these a multitude of Royalists, who went there with a resolution to wait with Berkley, the governor of the colony, who was also attached to king Charles, the fate of that deserted monarch. Berkley still continued to protect them,

\* About 2s.

BOOK even after the king's death ; but some of the in-  
XVIII. habitants either brought over or bribed, and sup-  
ported by the appearance of a powerful fleet, de-  
livered up the colony to the Protector. If the  
governor was compelled to follow the stream  
against his will, he was, at least, among those  
whom Charles had honoured with posts of con-  
fidence and rank, the last who submitted to  
Cromwell, and the first who shook off his yoke.  
This brave man was sinking under the oppression  
of the times, when the voice of the people re-  
called him to the place which his successor's death  
had left vacant ; but far from yielding to these  
flattering solicitations, he declared that he never  
would serve any but the legitimate heirs of the  
dethroned monarch. Such an example of magna-  
nimity, at a time when there were no hopes of the  
restoration of the royal family, made such an im-  
pression upon the minds of the people, that  
Charles the second was proclaimed in Virginia be-  
fore he had been proclaimed in England.

THE colony did not, however, receive all the  
benefit from such a step that might naturally have  
been expected from it. While the court, on one  
hand, granted to rapacious men of family exorbi-  
tant privileges, which absorbed the property of  
several obscure colonists ; the parliament, on the  
other, laid excessive taxes upon both the exports  
from and imports to Virginia. This double op-  
pression stopped all the resources and dispelled all  
the hopes of the colony ; and to complete its mis-  
fortunes

fortunes, the savages, who had never been sufficiently attended to, took that opportunity to renew their incursions with a spirit and uniformity of design that had never been yet known. BOOK  
XVIII.

SUCH a complication of misfortunes drove the Virginians to despair. Berkley, who had so long been their idol, was accused of wanting fortitude to resist the oppressions of the mother country, and activity to repel the irruptions of the savages. The eyes of all were immediately fixed upon Bacon, a young officer, full of vivacity, eloquence and intrepidity, of an insinuating disposition, and an agreeable person. They chose him for their general in an irregular and tumultuous manner. Though his military successes might have justified this prepossession of the licentious multitude, yet this circumstance did not prevent the governor from declaring Bacon a traitor to his country. A sentence so severe, and which was ill-timed, determined Bacon to assume a power by force which he had exercised peaceably and without opposition for six months. His death put a stop to all his projects. The malecontents, disunited by the death of their chief, and intimidated by the troops which were coming from Europe, were induced to sue for pardon, which was readily granted them. The rebellion, therefore, was attended with no bad consequences. Mercy insured obedience; and since this remarkable crisis the history of Virginia has been confined to the account of its plantations.



BOOK XVIII. THIS great establishment was governed at the first by persons placed at the head of it by the company. Virginia afterwards engaged the attention of the mother country, which in 1620 gave it a regular form of government, composed of a chief, a council and deputies from each county; to whose united care the interests of the province were committed. At first, the council and representatives of the people used to meet in the same room, as they do in Scotland. But in 1689, they divided, and had each their separate chamber, in imitation of the parliament of England. This custom has been continued ever since.

Govern-  
ment of  
Virginia.

THE governor, who is always appointed by the king, and for an unlimited period, has the sole disposal of the regular troops, the militia and of all military employments, as well as the power of approving or rejecting whatever laws are proposed by the general assembly. Besides this, with the concurrence of the council, to which he leaves very little power in other matters, he may either prorogue or entirely dissolve this kind of parliament: he chuses all the magistrates, and all the collectors of the revenue; he alienates the unoccupied lands in a manner suitable to the established forms, and disposes of the public treasure. So many prerogatives, which lead to usurpation, render government more arbitrary at Virginia than it is in the more northern colonies: they frequently open the door to oppression.

THE council is composed of 12 members, BOOK  
 created either by letters patent, or by particular XVIII.  
 order from the king. When there happen to be  
 less than nine in the country, the governor chuses  
 three out of the principal inhabitants to complete  
 the number. They form a kind of upper house,  
 and are at the same time to assist the administra-  
 tion, and to counter-act tyranny. They have also  
 the power of rejecting all acts passed in the lower  
 house. The salaries of the whole body amount to  
 no more than 7,875 livres.\*

VIRGINIA is divided into 25 counties, each of  
 which sends two deputies. James-town, and the  
 college have each of them separately the right of  
 naming one; so that they amount in all to 52.  
 Every inhabitant possessed of a freehold, except  
 only women and minors, has the right of electing,  
 and being elected. Though there is no time fixed  
 by law for holding the general assembly, it com-  
 monly meets either once a year, or once in every  
 two years; and the meeting is very seldom de-  
 ferred till three. The advantage arising from  
 meeting so frequently is secured by the precau-  
 tion of granting supplies only for a short time.  
 All acts passed in the two houses must be sent over  
 to the sovereign for his sanction; but till that is  
 received they are always in force, when they have  
 been approved by the governor.

THE public revenues of Virginia are collected  
 from different sources, and appropriated in dif-  
 ferent

\* 384l. 10s. 10d.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

BOOK XVIII. { ferent manners. The tax of 2 livres, 5 sols \*, upon every quintal of tobacco; that of 16 livres, 17 sols, and 6 deniers † per ton, which every vessel, laden or unladen, is obliged to pay at its return from a voyage, that of 11 livres, 5 sols ‡ a head exacted from all passengers, slaves as well as freemen, upon their arrival in the colony; the penalties and forfeitures appointed by different acts of the province; the duty upon both the lands and personal estates of those who leave no legitimate heir; these different articles, which together amount to 70,000 livres §, are to be employed in the current expences of the colony, according to the direction of the governor and the council. The general assembly has no further concern in this business than to audit the accounts.

THIS assembly, however, has reserved to itself the sole disposition of the funds raised for extraordinary services. These arise from a duty of entrance upon strong liquors, from one of 22 livres, 10 sols || upon every slave, and one of 16 livres, 17 sols \*\*, upon every servant, not an Englishman, that enters the colony. A revenue of this nature must be extremely variable, but in general it is pretty considerable, and has been usually well administered.

BESIDES these taxes, which are paid in money, there are others paid in kind. These are a sort of  
a triple

\* 1s. 11d.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .  
§ 3,062l. 10s.

† 14s. 9d.  
|| 19s. 8d.  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

‡ 9s. 10d.  
\*\* About 14s. 9d.



a triple poll tax on the article of tobacco, which B O O K  
 the white women only are exempted from. The XVIII.  
 first is raised by order of the general assembly, for }  
 the purpose of paying the expences of its meeting,  
 for that of the militia, and for some other national  
 exigencies. The second, which is called provin-  
 cial, is imposed by the justices of the peace in  
 each county for its particular uses. The third is  
 parochial, raised by the chief persons of the com-  
 munity, upon every thing that has more or less  
 connection with the established form of worship.

Justice was at first administered with that kind  
 of disinterestedness, which was itself the security  
 for the equity observed in it. One single court  
 had the cognizance of all causes, and used to de-  
 cide them in a few days, leaving only an appeal  
 to the general assembly, which was not less expe-  
 ditious in terminating them. So laudable a system  
 did not continue long. In 1692 all the statutes  
 and formalities of the mother country were  
 adopted, and all the chicanery of it was intro-  
 duced along with them. Since that time every  
 county has its distinct tribunal composed of a  
 sheriff, his under-officers and juries. From these  
 courts all causes are carried to the council, where  
 the governor presides; who has the power of de-  
 termining finally in all litigations where the pro-  
 perty in question does not exceed 6,750 livres\*.  
 If the sums contended for are more considerable,  
 the contest may be referred to the king. In all  
 criminal

\* About 295l.

BOOK XVIII. criminal matters, the council pronounces without appeal, not that the life of a citizen is of less consequence than his property, but because the application of the law is much easier in criminal, than in civil causes. The governor has the right of pardoning in all cases but those of wilful murder and high treason, and even in these he may suspend the execution of the sentence, till he knows the king's pleasure.

WITH respect to religion, the inhabitants at first professed that of the church of England. In 1642 the general assembly even passed a decree, which indirectly excluded all those who were not of this communion from the province. The necessity of peopling the country soon occasioned the repeal of this law, which was rather of a hierarchical than of a religious nature. A toleration granted so late, and evidently with reluctance, produced no material effect. Only five non-conformist churches were added to the colony, one of which consisted of Presbyterians, three of Quakers, and one of French refugees.

THE mother church has 39 parishes. Every parish chooses its minister, who must, however, be approved of by the governor before he takes possession. In some parishes he is paid in land, and furnished with all the necessary instruments for cultivating it; in others, his salary is 16,000 pounds weight of tobacco. Besides this he receives either 5 livres, 12 sols, 6 deniers \*, or fifty pounds of tobacco

\* About 4s. 11d.

tobacco for every marriage; and 45 livres\*, or BOOK  
 four hundred pounds of tobacco for every funeral XVIII.  
 sermon, which he is obliged to make over the —  
 grave of every free man. With all these advantages, most of the clergy are not contented, because they may be deprived of their benefices by those who conferred them.

AT first the colony was inhabited only by men; soon after they grew desirous of sharing the sweets of their situation with female companions. They gave at first 2,250 livres † for every young person that was brought them, from whom they required no other dowry than a certificate of their prudence and virtue. When the salubrity and fertility of the climate were ascertained, whole families, and even some of respectable condition, went over to settle in Virginia. In time they increased to such a degree, that so early as the year 1703 there were 66,606 white people in the colony. If since that time they have not increased above a sixth, it must be attributed to a pretty considerable emigration occasioned by the arrival of the blacks.

THESE slaves were first brought into Virginia by a Dutch ship in 1621. Their number was not considerable at first, but the increase of this inhuman traffic has been so considerable since the beginning of this century, that there are at present 110,000 negroes in the colony; which occasions a double loss to mankind, first by exhausting the  
 popula-

\* 1l. 19s. 4d.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

† 98l. 8s. 9d.



BOOK population of Africa, and secondly by preventing  
 XVIII. that of the Europeans in America.

VIRGINIA has neither fortified places nor regular troops: they would be useless in a province, which from its situation and the nature of its productions, is protected both from foreign invasions, and the incursions of the savages wandering about this vast continent, who have long been too weak to attack it. The militia, which is composed of all the free-men from sixteen to sixty years of age, is sufficient to keep the slaves in order. Every county reviews all its troops once, and the separate companies three or four times a year. Upon the least alarm given in any particular part of the country, all the forces in it march. If they are out more than two days, they receive pay; if not, it is reckoned a part of their stated service. Such is the government of Virginia, and such is very nearly that of Maryland; which, after having been included in this colony, was separated from it for reasons which must be explained.

Maryland  
 is detached  
 from Vir-  
 ginia.

CHARLES the first, far from having any aversion for the catholics, had some reason to protect them, from the zeal, which, in hopes of being tolerated, they had shewn for his interest. But when the accusation of being favourable to popery had alienated the minds of the people from that weak prince, whose chief aim was to establish a despotic government, he was obliged to give the catholics up to the rigour of the laws enacted against them by Henry the eighth. These circumstances

cumstances induced lord Baltimore to seek an asy-BOOK  
 lum in Virginia, where he might be indulged in a XVIII.  
 liberty of conscience. As he found there no to-  
 leration for an exclusive system of faith, which  
 was itself intolerant, he formed the design of a  
 new settlement in that uninhabited part of the  
 country, which lay between the river of Potow-  
 mack and Pennsylvania. His death, which hap-  
 pened soon after he had obtained powers from the  
 crown for peopling this land, put a stop to the  
 project for that time, but it was resumed from the  
 same religious motives by his son. This young  
 nobleman left England in the year 1633, with  
 two hundred Roman catholics, most of them of  
 good families. The education they had received,  
 the cause of religion for which they left their coun-  
 try, and the fortune which their leader promised  
 them, prevented those disturbances which are but  
 too common in infant settlements. The neigh-  
 bouring savages, won by mildness and acts of be-  
 neficence, concurred with eagerness to assist the  
 new colonists in forming their settlement. With  
 this unexpected help these fortunate persons, at-  
 tached to each other by the same principles of re-  
 ligion, and directed by the prudent councils of  
 their chief, applied themselves unanimously to  
 every kind of useful labour: the view of the peace  
 and happiness they enjoyed, invited among them  
 a number of men who were either persecuted for  
 the same religion, or for different opinions.

BOOK XVIII. THE catholics of Maryland gave up at length the intolerant principles, of which they themselves had been the victims after having first set the example of them, and opened the doors of their colony to all sects of what religious principles soever. Baltimore also granted the most extensive civil liberty to every stranger who chose to purchase lands in his new colony, the government of which was modelled upon that of the mother country.

THESE wise precautions, however, did not secure the governor, at the time of the subversion of the monarchy, from losing all the rights and concessions that he had obtained. Deprived of his possessions by Cromwell, he was restored to them by Charles the second; after which they were again disputed with him. Though he was perfectly clear from any reproach of mal-administration; and though he was extremely zealous for the Tramontane doctrines, and much attached to the interests of the Stuarts; yet he had the mortification of finding the legality of his charter attacked under the arbitrary reign of James II. and of being obliged to maintain an action at law for the jurisdiction of a province which had been ceded to him by the crown, and which he himself had peopled. This prince, whose misfortune it had always been not to distinguish his friends from his foes; and who had also the ridiculous pride to think that regal authority was sufficient to justify every act of violence, was preparing



paring a second time to deprive Baltimore, of what had been given him by the two kings, his father and his brother; when he was himself removed from the throne, which he was so unfit to fill. The successor of this weak despotic prince terminated this contest, which had arisen before his accession to the crown, in a manner worthy of his political character. He left the Baltimores in possession of their revenues, but deprived them of their authority, which, however, they also recovered upon becoming members of the church of England.

THE province is at present divided into eleven counties, and inhabited by 40,000 white men and 60,000 blacks. It is governed by a chief, who is named by the proprietor, and by a council and two deputies chosen in each county. The governor, like the king in the other colonies, has a negative voice in all acts proposed by the assembly, that is to say, the right of rejecting them.

IF Maryland were re-united to Virginia, as their common interest seems to require, no difference could be found between the two settlements. They are situated between Pennsylvania and Carolina, and occupy the great space that extends from the sea to the Apalachian mountains. The air, which is damp on the coast, becomes light, pure and subtle, as you approach the mountains. The spring and autumn months are of an excellent temperature, in summer there are some days excessively hot, and in winter some extremely

Virginia and Maryland cultivate the same productions.

BOOK cold; but neither of these excesses lasts above a  
 XVIII. week at a time. The most disagreeable circum-  
 stance in the climate is the abundance of nauseous  
 insects that are found there.

ALL the domestic animals multiply prodigi-  
 ously; and all sorts of fruits, trees and vegetables  
 succeed there extremely well. It produces the  
 best corn in all America. The soil, which is rich,  
 and fertile in the low lands, is always good, even  
 in those places where it becomes sandy; more ir-  
 regular than it is described by some travellers,  
 but tolerably level till you come near the moun-  
 tains.

FROM these mountains an incredible number of  
 rivers flow, most of which are separated only by  
 an interval of five or six miles. Besides the ferti-  
 lity which these waters impart to the country they  
 pass through, they also make it infinitely more  
 convenient for trade than any other part of the  
 new world, by facilitating the communications.

MOST of these rivers afford a very extensive in-  
 land navigation for merchant ships, and some of  
 them for men of war. One may go near two hun-  
 dred miles up the Potowmack, above eighty up  
 the James, the York, and the Rapahannock, and  
 upon the other rivers to a distance that varies ac-  
 cording as the cataracts are more or less distant  
 from their mouths. All these navigable canals,  
 formed by nature, met in the bay of Chesapeak,  
 which has from seven to nine fathom water both at

its entrance and in its whole extent. It reaches B O O K above two hundred miles into the country, and is XVIII. about twelve miles in its mean breadth. Though it is full of small islands, most of them covered with wood, it is by no means dangerous, and so large that all the ships in the universe might ride there with ease.

So uncommon an advantage has prevented the formation of any large towns in the two colonies, and accordingly the inhabitants who were certain that the ships would come up to their warehouses, and that they might embark their commodities without going from their own houses, have dispersed themselves upon the borders of the several rivers. In this situation, they found all the pleasures of a rural life, united to all the affluence that is brought into cities by trade; they found the facility of extending cultivation in a country that had no bounds, together with every assistance which the fertilization of the lands receive from commerce. But the mother country suffered a double inconvenience from this dispersion of the colonists; first, because her sailors, being obliged to collect their cargoes from these scattered habitations were longer absent; and secondly, because their ships were exposed to injury from those dangerous insects, which in the months of June and July infest all the rivers of this distant region. The ministry has therefore neglected no means of engaging the colonists to establish staples for the reception of their commodities. The constraint



BOOK of the laws has not had more effect than persuasion. At length, a few years ago, forts were ordered to be built at the entrance of every river, to protect the loading and unloading of the ships. If this project had not failed in the execution from the want of a sufficient fund, it is probable that the inhabitants would have gathered together by degrees in the vicinity of these fortresses. But it may still be a question whether this circumstance would not have proved fatal to population; and whether agriculture might not have lost as much as commerce would have gained by it.

BE this as it may, it is certain that there are but two towns at present of any kind of note in the two colonies. Even those which are the seat of government are of no great importance. Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia, and Annapolis that of Maryland, the first risen upon the ruins of James town, the other upon those of St. Mary, are neither of them superior to one of our common villages.

As in all human affairs, every good is attended with some kind of evil, so it has happened that the multiplicity of habitations at the same time that it prevented the cities from becoming populous, has also prevented any artists or manufacturers from being formed in either of the provinces. With all the materials necessary to supply them with most of their wants, and even with several of their conveniences, they are still obliged to import from

Europe

Europe their cloths, linens, hats, hardware, and even furniture of the most ordinary kind. BOOK  
XVIII.

THESE numerous and general expences have exhausted the inhabitants; besides which they have vied with each other in displaying every kind of luxury before all the English merchants, who visit their plantations from motives of commercial interest. By these means, they have run so much in debt with the mother country, that many of them have been obliged to sell their lands; or, in order still to keep possession of them, to mortgage them at an usurious interest of eight or nine per cent.

IT will be no easy matter for the two provinces ever to emerge from this desperate state. Their shipping does not amount to above a thousand tons, and all the corn, cattle and planks they send to the Caribbee islands; all hemp, flax, leather, peltry and walnut-tree or cedar-wood they ship for Europe does not bring them a return of more than a million of livres\*. The only resource they have left is tobacco.

TOBACCO is a sharp caustic, and even poisonous plant, which has been formerly of great repute, and is still used in medicine. Every one is acquainted with the general consumption of it, by chewing, smoaking, or taking snuff. It was discovered in the year 1520 by the Spaniards, who found it first in the Jucatan, a large peninsula in the gulph of Mexico, from whence it was carried

B O O K into the neighbouring islands. Soon after, the use  
 XVIII. of it became a matter of dispute among the learned, which the ignorant also took a part in; and thus tobacco acquired some reputation. By degrees fashion and custom have greatly extended its consumption in all parts of the known world. It is at present cultivated with more or less success in Europe, Asia, Africa, and several parts of America.

THE stem of this plant is straight, hairy and viscous; its leaves thick, flabby, and of a pale green colour. They are larger at the bottom than at the summit of the plant. It requires a binding soil, but rich, even and deep, and not too much exposed to inundations. A virgin soil is very fit for this vegetable, which requires a great deal of moisture.

THE seeds of the tobacco are sown upon beds. When it has grown to the height of two inches, and has got, at least, half a dozen leaves, it is gently pulled up in damp weather, and transplanted with great care into a well-prepared soil, where the plants are placed at the distance of three feet from each other. When they are put into the ground with these precautions, their leaves do not suffer the least injury; and all their vigour is renewed in four and twenty hours.

THE cultivation of tobacco requires continual attention. The weeds which grow round it must be plucked up; the head of it must be cut off when it is two feet and a half from the ground, to  
 pre-



prevent it from growing too high; it must be BOOK stripped of all sprouting suckers; the leaves which XVIII. grow too near the bottom of the stem, those that are in the least inclined to decay, and those which the insects have touched, must all be picked off, and their number reduced to eight or ten at most. One industrious man is able to take care of two thousand five hundred plants, which ought to yield one thousand weight of tobacco. It is left about four months in the ground. As it advances to maturity, the pleasant and lively green colour of its leaves is changed into a darker hue; the leaves are also curved, the scent of them grows stronger, and extends to a greater distance. The plant is then ripe and must be cut.

THE plants, when collected, are laid in heaps upon the same ground that produced them, where they are left to exsude only for one night. The next day they are laid up in warehouses constructed in such a manner, that the air may have free access to them on all sides. Here they are left separately suspended as long a time as is necessary to dry them properly. They are then spread upon hurdles and well covered over, where they ferment for a week or two. At last they are stripped of their leaves, which are either put into barrels, or made up into rolls. The other methods of preparing the plant, which vary according to the different tastes of the several nations that use it, have nothing to do with its cultivation.

BOOK XVIII. OF all the countries in which tobacco has been planted, there is none where it has answered so well as in Maryland and Virginia. As it was the only occupation of the first planters, they often cultivated much more than they could find a sale for. They were then obliged to stop the growth of the plantations in Virginia, and to burn a certain number of plants in every habitation throughout Maryland. But in process of time the use of this herb became so general that they have been obliged to increase the number both of the whites and blacks who were employed in preparing it. At present each of the provinces furnishes nearly an equal quantity. That of Virginia, which is the mildest, the most perfumed and the dearest; is consumed in England and in the southern parts of Europe. That of Maryland is fitter for the northern climates on account of its cheapness, and even its coarseness, which makes it adapted to less delicate organs.

As navigation has not yet made the same progress in these provinces, as in the rest of North-America, the tobacco is commonly transported in the ships of the mother country. They are very often three, four, and even six months in completing their cargo. This delay arises from several very evident causes. First, as there are no magazines or general receptacles for the tobacco, it is necessary to procure it from the several plantations. Secondly, few planters are able to load a whole ship if they would, and if they were, they would

would not chuse to venture their whole capital upon B O O K one bottom. In short, as the price of the freight is XVIII. fixed, and is always the same, whether the articles are ready for embarkation or not, the planters wait till they are pressed by the captains themselves to hasten the exportation. For these reasons vessels only of a moderate size are generally employed upon this service. The larger they are, the longer time they would be detained in America.

VIRGINIA always pays forty-five livres\* freight for every barrel of tobacco, and Maryland only 39 livres, 5 sols, 6 deniers †. This difference is owing to the less value of the merchandise, and to the great expedition made in loading it. The English merchant loses by the carriage, but he finds his account in the commissions. As he is always employed in all the sales and purchases made for the colonists, he is amply compensated for his losses and his trouble, by an allowance of five per cent. upon these commissions.

THIS trade employs two hundred and fifty ships, which make up in all 30,000 tons. They take in a hundred thousand barrels of tobacco from the two colonies, which, at the rate of eight hundred pounds a barrel, make eighty millions of pounds weight. That part of the commodity that grows between York and James rivers, and in some other places is extremely dear; but the whole taken upon an average sells only for four sols three deniers ‡ a pound in England, which makes in all 16,125,000 livres.

\* 1l. 19s. 4d.  $\frac{1}{2}$ . † 1l. 14s 5d.  $\frac{1}{4}$ . ‡ Not 2d.  $\frac{1}{4}$ .



BOOK XVIII. livres \*. Besides the advantage England experiences in exchanging its manufactures to the amount of this sum, it gains another by the re-exportation of four fifths of the tobacco. This alone is an object of 10,125,000 livres †, besides what is to be reckoned for freight and commission.

THE custom-house duties are still a more considerable object to government. There is a tax of 11 sols, 10 deniers and a half ‡ upon every pound of tobacco that enters the kingdom; this supposing the whole eighty millions of pounds imported to remain in it, would bring the state 47,499,997 livres, 10 sols §; but as four fifths are re-exported, and all the duties are remitted upon that portion, the public revenue gains only 19,000,000 livres, 2 sols, 7 deniers ||. Experience teaches that a third of this must be deducted on account of the allowance made to the merchant who pays ready money, instead of availing himself of eighteen months credit which he has a right to take, and on account of the smuggling that is carried on in the small ports as well as in the large ones. This deduction will amount to 6,333,351 livres, 18 sols, 6 deniers \*\*, and there will consequently remain for government no more than 12,666,715 livres, 17 sols, 6 deniers ††.

NOTWITHSTANDING these last abuses, Virginia and Maryland are much more advantageous to

Great

\* 738,281l. 5s. † 442,968l. 15s. ‡ About 6d.  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

§ 2,078,124l. 17s. 9d.  $\frac{3}{4}$ . || 831,250l. os. 1d.  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

\*\* 277,084l. 2s. 11d.  $\frac{1}{4}$ . †† 554,168l. 16s. 4d.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Great Britain than the other northern colonies, **B O O K**  
 more so even than Carolina.

XVIII.

CAROLINA extends three hundred miles along the coast, and two hundred miles in the country, as far as the Apalachian mountains. It was discovered by the Spaniards, soon after the first expeditions in the new world; but as they found no gold there to satisfy their avarice, they paid no attention to it. Admiral Coligny, with more prudence and ability, opened an asylum there to the industry of the French protestants; but the fanaticism that pursued them soon destroyed all their hopes, which were totally lost in the murder of that just, humane, and enlightened man. Some English succeeded them towards the end of the 16th century: who, by an unaccountable caprice, were induced to abandon this fertile region, in order to go and cultivate a more ungrateful land, in a less agreeable climate.

Origin of  
Carolina.

THERE was not a single European remaining in Carolina, when the Lords Berkeley, Clarendon, Albemarle, Craven and Ashley; Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley and Sir William Colleton obtained from Charles II. in 1663, a grant of that fine country. The plan of government for this new colony was drawn up by the famous Locke. A philosopher, who was a friend to mankind, and to that moderation and justice which ought to be the rule of their actions, could not find better means to oppose the prevalence of fanaticism, than by an unlimited toleration in matters of religion; but

System of  
religious  
and civil  
govern-  
ment esta-  
blished by  
Locke in  
Carolina.

B O O K but not daring openly to attack the prejudices of  
 XVIII. his time, which were as much the effect of the  
 } virtües as of the crimes of the age, he endeavour-  
 ed, at least, to reconcile them, if possible, with a  
 principle of reason and humanity. The wild in-  
 habitants of America, said he, have no idea of a  
 revelation; it would, therefore, be the height of  
 extravagance to make them suffer for their igno-  
 rance. The different sects of christians, who might  
 come to people the colony, would, without doubt,  
 expect a liberty of conscience there, which priests  
 and princes refuse them in Europe: nor should  
 Jews or Pagans be rejected on account of a blind-  
 ness, which lenity and persuasion might contribute  
 to remove. Such was Mr. Locke's reasoning with  
 men prejudiced and influenced by opinions, which  
 no one had hitherto taken the liberty to call in  
 question. Disgusted with the troubles and misfor-  
 tunes which the different systems of religion had  
 given birth to in Europe, they readily acquiesced  
 in the arguments he proposed to them. They  
 admitted toleration in the same manner as intol-  
 erance is received, without examining into the me-  
 rits of it. The only restriction laid upon this sav-  
 ing principle was, that every person, claiming the  
 protection of that settlement, should at the age of  
 seventeen register himself in some particular com-  
 munion.

THE English philosopher was not so favourable  
 to civil liberty. Whether it were, that those, who  
 had fixed upon him to trace out a plan of govern-  
 ment,



ment, had restrained his views, as will be the case of every writer, who employs his pen for great men, or ministers; or whether Locke, being more of a metaphysician than a statesman, pursued philosophy only in those tracts which had been opened by Descartes and Leibnitz; it is certain that the same man, who had dissipated and destroyed so many errors in his theory concerning the origin of ideas, made but very feeble and uncertain advances in the path of legislation. The author of a work, the permanency of which will render the glory of the French nation immortal, even when tyranny shall have broken all the springs, and all the monuments of the genius and merit of a people esteemed by the whole world for so many amiable and brilliant qualities; even Montesquieu himself did not perceive that he was making men for governments, instead of making governments for men.

THE code of Carolina, by a singularity not to be accounted for in an Englishman and a philosopher, gave to the eight proprietors, who founded the settlement and to their heirs, not only all the rights of a monarch, but likewise all the powers of legislation.

THE court, which was composed of this sovereign body, and was called, the Palatine Court, was invested with the right of nominating to all employments and dignities, and even with that of conferring nobility; but with new and unprecedented titles. For instance, they were to create,  
in

BOOK in each county, two Caciques, each of whom was  
 XVIII. to be possessed of twenty-four thousand acres of  
 land; and a Landgrave, who was to have four-  
 score thousand. The persons, on whom these hon-  
 ours should be bestowed, were to compose the  
 upper house; and their possessions were made un-  
 alienable; a circumstance totally inconsistent with  
 good policy. They had only the right of farming  
 or letting out a third part of them at the most for  
 the term of three lives.

THE lower house was composed of the deputies  
 from the several counties and towns. The num-  
 ber of this representative body was to be increased  
 in proportion as the colony grew more populous.  
 No tenant was to pay more than one livre, two  
 sols and six deniers \* per acre; and even this rent  
 was redeemable. All the inhabitants, however,  
 both slaves and freemen, were under an obligation  
 to take up arms upon the first order they should re-  
 ceive from the Palatine Court.

It was not long before the defects of a constitu-  
 tion, in which the powers of the state were so un-  
 equally divided, began to be discerned. The  
 proprietary lords, influenced by despotic prin-  
 ciples, used every endeavour to establish an arbi-  
 trary government. On the other hand, the colo-  
 nists, who were not ignorant of the general rights  
 of mankind, exerted themselves with equal zeal  
 to avoid servitude. From this struggle of oppo-  
 site interests arose an inevitable confusion, which  
 put

\* About 1s.

put a stop to every useful exertion of industry. The B O O K whole province, distracted with quarrels, dissensions and tumults, was rendered incapable of making any progress, though great improvements had been expected from the peculiar advantages of its situation. XVIII.

NOR were these evils sufficient to call for a redress, which was only to arise from the excess to which they were carried. Granville, who, as the oldest of the proprietors, was in 1705 sole governor of the colony, formed the resolution of obliging all the non-conformists, who were two thirds of the people, to embrace the forms of worship established in England. This act of violence, though disavowed, and rejected by the mother country, inflamed the minds of the people. In 1720, while this animosity was still subsisting, the province was attacked by several bands of savages, driven to despair by a continued course of the most atrocious insolence and injustice. These unfortunate wretches were all conquered and all put to the sword: but the courage and vigour, which this war revived in the breasts of the colonists, was the prelude to the fall of their oppressors. Those tyrants having refused to contribute to the expences of an expedition, the immediate benefits of which they claimed to themselves, were all, excepting Carteret, who still preserved one eighth of the country, stripped in 1728 of their prerogatives, which they had only made an ill use of.

They



BOOK XVIII. They received however 540,000 livres \* by way of compensation. From this time, the crown resumed the government, and in order to give the colony a foretaste of its moderation, gave it the same constitution as the rest. It was likewise divided into two separate governments, under the names of North and South Carolina, in order to facilitate the administration of it. It is from this happy period, that the prosperity of this great province is to be dated.

Climate  
and pro-  
duce of  
Carolina.

There is not, perhaps, throughout the new world a climate to be compared with that of Carolina. The two seasons of the year, which, for the most part, only moderate the excesses of the two others, are here delightful. The heats of the summer are not excessive; and the cold of the winter is only felt in the mornings and evenings. The fogs, which are always common upon a coast of any length, are dispersed before the middle of the day. But on the other hand, here, as well as in almost every other part of America, the inhabitants are subject to such sudden and violent changes of weather, as oblige them to observe a regularity in their diet and cloathing, which would be unnecessary in a more settled climate. Another inconvenience, peculiar to this tract of the northern continent, is that of being exposed to hurricanes; but these are less frequent and less violent than in the islands.

A VAST

A VAST, melancholy, and uniform plain extends from the sea-shore fourscore or a hundred miles within land. From this distance, the country beginning to rise, affords a more pleasing prospect, a purer and dryer air. This part, before the arrival of the English, was covered with one immense forest, reaching as far as the Apalachian mountains. It consisted of large trees growing as nature had cast them, without order or design, at unequal distances, and not encumbered with underwood: by which means more land could be cleared here in a week, than in several months among us.

THE soil of Carolina is very various. On the coast and near the mouths of the rivers, which fall into the sea, it is either covered with useless and unhealthy morasses, or composed of a pale, light, sandy earth, which produces nothing. In one part it is barren to an extreme; in another, among the numberless streams that divide the country, it is excessively fruitful. At a distance from the coasts, there are found sometimes large wastes of white sand, which produce nothing but pines; in other places there are lands, where the oak and the walnut-tree announce fertility. These alternatives and variations are not observable in the inland parts; and the country every where is agreeable and rich.

ADMIRABLY adapted as these spots are for the purposes of agriculture, the province does not want others equally favourable for the breeding of

B O O K cattle. Thousands of horned cattle are bred here, XVIII. which go out in the morning without a herdsman to feed in the woods, and return home at night of their own accord. Their hogs, which are suffered to fatten themselves in the same manner, are still more numerous and much better in their kind. But mutton degenerates here both in flesh and wool. For this reason, it is less common.

In 1723, the whole colony consisted of no more than four thousand white people, and thirty-two thousand blacks. Its exports to other parts of America and to Europe did not exceed 4,950,000 livres\*. Since that time it hath acquired a degree of splendour, which it owes entirely to the enjoyment of liberty.

SOUTH CAROLINA, though it hath succeeded in establishing a considerable barter trade with the savages, hath gained a manufacture of linens by means of the French refugees, and invented a new kind of stuff by mixing the silk it produces with its wool; yet its progress is principally to be attributed to the produce of rice and indigo.

THE first of these articles was brought there by accident. A ship, on its return from India, ran aground on this coast. It was laden with rice, which, being thrown on shore by the waves, grew up. This unexpected good fortune led the colonists to attempt the cultivation of a commodity, which the soil itself seemed to invite them to try. For a long time little progress was made in it; because



because the colonists being obliged to send their B O O K crops to the mother country, from whence they XVIII. were shipped again for Spain and Portugal, where the consumption was, sold them at so low a price, that it scarce answered the expences of cultivation. Since 1730, when a more enlightened ministry gave them permission to export and sell their grain themselves at foreign markets, an increase of profit has produced an additional growth of the commodity. The quantity is at present greatly augmented and may be still increased; but it is a question whether this will always be for the advantage of the colony. Of all production rice is the most detrimental to the salubrity of the climate; at least, it hath been esteemed so in the Milanese, where the peasants on the rice-grounds are all of them fallow complexioned and dropfical; as well as in France, where that article hath been totally prohibited. Egypt had, without doubt, its precautions against the ill effects of a grain in other respects so nutritious. China must also have its preservatives, which art provides against nature, whose favours are sometimes attended with pernicious consequences. Perhaps, also, under the torrid zone, where rice grows in the greatest abundance, the heat, which makes it flourish in the midst of water, quickly disperses the moist and noxious vapours that exhale from the rice-fields. But if the cultivation of rice should come to be neglected in Carolina, that of indigo will make ample amends for it.

BOOK XVIII. THIS plant, which is a native of Indostan, was first brought to perfection in Mexico, and the Caribbee islands. It was tried later and with less success in South-Carolina. This principal ingredient in dying is there of so inferior a quality, that it is scarce sold at half the price it bears in other places. Yet those, who cultivate it, do not despair, in time, of supplanting both the Spaniards and French at every market. The goodness of their climate, the extent of their lands, the plenty and cheapness of their provisions, the opportunities they have of supplying themselves with utensils, and of procuring slaves; every thing, in short, flatters their expectation: and the same hopes have always been entertained by the inhabitants of North-Carolina.

IT is well known that this country was the first on the continent of the new world, on which the English landed; for here is the bay of Roanoak, which Raleigh took possession of in 1585. A total emigration, in a short time, left it destitute of colonists; nor did it begin to be re-peopled, even when large settlements were established in the neighbouring countries. We cannot otherwise account for this desertion, than from the obstacles which trading vessels had to encounter in this beautiful region. None of its rivers are deep enough to admit ships of more than seventy or eighty tons. Those of greater burthen are forced to anchor between the continent and some adjacent islands. The tenders which are employed in  
lading

loading and unlading them augment the expence B O O K  
 and trouble both of their exports and imports. XVIII.

FROM this circumstance, probably, it was, that North-Carolina was at first inhabited only by a set of miserable men without name, laws, or profession. In proportion as the lands in the neighbouring colonies grew more scarce, those, who were not able to purchase them, betook themselves to a country where they could get lands without purchase. Refugees of other kinds availed themselves of the same resource. Order and property became established at the same time; and this colony, with fewer advantages than South-Carolina, obtained a greater number of European settlers.

THE first people, whom chance dispersed along these savage coasts, confined themselves to the breeding of cattle, and the cutting of wood, which were taken off their hands by the merchants of New-England. In a short time they contrived to make the pine-tree produce them turpentine, tar, and pitch. For the turpentine they had nothing to do but to make two slits about a foot in length, in the trunk of the tree, at the bottom of which they placed vessels to receive it. When they wanted tar, they raised a circular platform of potter's earth, on which they laid piles of pine-wood: to these they set fire and the resin distilled from them into casks placed underneath. The tar was converted into pitch, either in great iron pots, in which they boiled it, or in pits formed of



BOOK potter's earth, into which it was poured while in XVIII. a fluid state. This labour, however, was not sufficient for the maintenance of the inhabitants: they then proceeded to grow corn; and for a long time were contented with maize, as their neighbours in South-Carolina were obliged to be, where the wheat being subject to mildew, and to exhaust itself in straw, never throve. But several experiments having proved to the North-Carolina inhabitants that they were not liable to the same inconvenience, they succeeded so far in the cultivation of that grain, that they were even able to supply a considerable exportation. Rice and indigo have been but lately introduced into this province to join the harvests of Africa and Asia to those of Europe. The cultivation of them is but yet in its infancy.

THERE is scarce one twentieth part of the territory of the two Carolinas that is cleared; and, at this time, the only cultivated spots are those, which are the most sandy and the nearest to the sea. The reason why the colonists have not settled further back in the country is, that of ten navigable rivers, there is not one that will admit shipping higher than sixty miles. This inconvenience is not to be remedied but by making roads or canals; and works of that kind require so many hands, and so much expence and knowledge, that the hopes of such an improvement are still very distant.

NEITHER

NEITHER of the colonies, however, have reason to complain of their lot. The imposts, which are all levied on the exportation and importation of merchandise, do not exceed 135,000 livres\*. The paper-currency of North-Carolina does not amount to more than 1,125,000 livres †, and that of South-Carolina, which is infinitely more wealthy, is only 5,625,000 ‡. Neither of them are in debt to the mother country; and this advantage, which is not common even in the English colonies, they derive from the great amount of their exportations to the neighbouring provinces, to the Caribbee islands and to Europe.

IN 1754, there were exported from South-Carolina, seven hundred and fifty-nine barrels of turpentine, two thousand, nine hundred and forty-three of tar; five thousand, eight hundred and sixty-nine of pitch or rosin; four hundred and sixteen barrels of beef; fifteen hundred and sixty of pork; sixteen thousand four hundred bushels of Indian corn; and nine thousand, one hundred and sixty-two of peas; four thousand, one hundred and eighty tanned hides, and twelve hundred in the hair; one million, one hundred and forty thousand planks; two hundred and six thousand joists; and three hundred and eighty-five thousand feet of timber; eight hundred and eighty-two hogsheds of wild deer-skins; one hundred and four thousand, six hundred and eighty-two barrels

U 4

of

\* 5,906l. 5s. † 49,118l. 15s. ‡ 246,093l. 15s.

BOOK of rice ; and two hundred and sixteen thousand, XVIII. nine hundred and eighty four pounds of indigo.

IN the same year North-Carolina exported sixty-one thousand, five hundred and twenty-eight barrels of tar ; twelve thousand and fifty-five of pitch ; and ten thousand, four hundred and twenty-nine of turpentine ; seven hundred and sixty-two thousand, three hundred and thirty planks ; and two thousand, six hundred and forty-seven feet of timber ; sixty-one thousand, five hundred bushels of wheat, and ten thousand of peas ; three thousand, three hundred barrels of beef and pork ; one hundred hogheads of tobacco ; ten thousand hundred weight of tanned hides, and thirty thousand skins of different kinds.

IN the above account, there is not a single article that has not been considerably increased since that time. Several of them have been doubled, and the most valuable of all, the indigo, has increased to three times the quantity.

SOME productions of North-Carolina are exported to Europe and the Caribbee islands, though there is no staple town to receive them ; and that Edinton, the ancient capital of the province, as well as that which hath been built in lieu of it upon the river Neus, can scarce be considered as small villages. The largest and most valuable part of its exports is conveyed to Charles-town to increase the riches of South-Carolina.

THIS town lies between the two navigable rivers, Cooper and Ashley ; surrounded by the most beautiful



beautiful plantations of the colony, of which it is B O O K  
 the center and the capital. It is well built, inter- XVIII.  
 sected with several agreeable streets, and its forti- —  
 fications are tolerably regular. The large fortunes  
 that have been made there from the accession and  
 circulation of its trade, must necessarily have had  
 some influence upon the manners of the people:  
 of all the towns in North-America, it is the one  
 in which the conveniencies of luxury are most to  
 be met with. But the disadvantage its road la-  
 bours under, of not being able to admit ships of  
 above two hundred tons, will make it lose its  
 present splendour. It will be deserted for Port  
 Royal, which admits vessels of all kinds into its  
 harbour, and in great numbers. A settlement has  
 already been formed there, which is continually  
 increasing, and will most probably meet with the  
 greatest success. Besides the productions of North  
 and South-Carolina, that will naturally be sent to  
 its market, it will also receive those of Georgia,  
 a colony that has been lately established near it.

CAROLINA and Spanish Florida are separated Founda-  
 tion of  
 Georgia.  
 from each other by a great tract of land which ex-  
 tends one hundred and twenty miles upon the sea  
 coast, and three hundred miles from thence to the  
 Apalachian mountains, and whose boundaries to  
 the north and south are the rivers Savannah and  
 Alatamaha. The English ministry had been long  
 desirous of erecting a colony on this tract of coun-  
 try, that was considered as dependent upon Caro-  
 lina. One of those instances of benevolence,  
 which

BOOK XVIII. which liberty, the source of every patriotic virtue, renders more frequent in England than in any other country, served to determine the views of government with regard to this place. A rich and humane citizen, at his death, left the whole of his estate to set at liberty such insolvent debtors as were detained in prison by their creditors. Prudential reasons of policy concurred in the performance of this will dictated by humanity; and the government gave orders, that such unhappy prisoners as were released, should be transplanted into that desert country, that was now intended to be peopled. It was named Georgia in honour of the reigning sovereign.

THIS instance of respect, the more pleasing, as it was not the effect of flattery; and the execution of a design of so much real advantage to the state, were entirely the work of the nation. The parliament added 225,000 livres \* to the estate left by the will of the citizen; and a voluntary subscription produced a much more considerable sum. General Oglethorpe, a man, who had distinguished himself in the house of commons by his taste for great designs, by his zeal for his country, and his passion for glory, was fixed upon to direct these public finances, and to carry into execution so excellent a project. Desirous of maintaining the reputation he had acquired, he chose to conduct himself the first colonists that were sent to Georgia; where he arrived in January 1733, and fixed his

\* 9,843l. 15s.

his people on a spot ten miles distant from the B O O K sea, in an agreeable and fertile plain on the banks XVIII. of the Savannah. This rising settlement was called Savannah from the name of the river; and inconsiderable as it was in its infant state, was, however, to become the capital of a flourishing colony. It consisted at first of no more than one hundred persons, but before the end of the year the number was increased to 618; of whom 127 had emigrated at their own expence. Three hundred men, and 113 women, 102 lads, and 83 girls, formed the beginning of this new population, and the hopes of a numerous posterity.

THIS settlement was increased in 1735 by the arrival of some Scotch highlanders. Their national courage induced them to accept an establishment offered them upon the borders of the Alatomaha, to defend the colony, if necessary, against the attacks of the neighbouring Spaniards. Here they built the towns of Darien and Frederica, and several of their countrymen came over to settle among them.

IN the same year, a great number of protestants driven out of Saltzburg by a fanatical priest, embarked for Georgia to enjoy peace and liberty of conscience. At first they settled on a spot just above that of the infant colony; but they afterwards chose to be at a greater distance, and to go as far down as the mouth of the Savannah, where they built a town called Ebenezer.



B O O K XVIII. SOME Switzers followed the example of these wise  
 { been persecuted. They also settled on the banks  
 of the Savannah; but at the distance of four and  
 thirty miles from the Germans. Their colony con-  
 sisting of a hundred habitations, was named Pu-  
 rysburgh, from Pury their founder, who having  
 been at the expence of their settlement, was de-  
 servedly chosen their chief, in testimony of their  
 gratitude to him.

IN these four or five colonies, some men were  
 found more inclined to trade than agriculture.  
 These, therefore, separated from the rest in order  
 to build the city Augusta, two hundred and thirty-  
 six miles distant from the ocean. The goodness  
 of the soil, though excellent in itself, was not the  
 motive of their fixing upon this situation; but they  
 were induced to it by the facility it afforded them of  
 carrying on the peltry trade with the savages. Their  
 project was so successful, that as early as the year  
 1739, six hundred people were employed in this  
 commerce. The sale of these skins was with much  
 greater facility carried on, from the circumstance  
 of the Savannah admitting the largest ships to sail  
 upon it as far as the walls of Augusta.

THE mother country ought, one would imagine,  
 to have formed great expectations from a colony,  
 where she had sent near five thousand men, and  
 laid out 1,485,000 livres\* exclusive of the volun-  
 tary contributions that have been raised by zealous  
 patriots.

\* 64,963l. 15s.

patriots. But to her great surprize, she received BOOK information 1741, that there remained scarce a XVIII. sixth part of that numerous colony sent to Georgia; who being now totally discouraged, seemed only desirous to fix in a more favourable situation. The reasons of these calamities were enquired into and discovered.

THIS colony, even in its infancy, brought with it the seeds of its decay. The government, together with the property of Georgia, had been ceded to individuals. The example of Carolina ought to have prevented this imprudent scheme; but nations any more than individuals do not learn instruction from their past misconduct. An enlightened government, though checked by the watchful eye of the people, is not always able to guard against every misuse of its confidence. The English ministry, though zealously attached to the common welfare, sacrificed the public interest to the rapacious views of interested individuals.

Impediments that have prevented the progress of Georgia.

THE first use that the proprietors of Georgia made of the unlimited power they were invested with was to establish a system of legislation, that made them entirely masters not only of the police, justice and finances of the country, but even of the lives and estates of its inhabitants. Every species of right was withdrawn from the people, who are the original possessors of them all. Obedience was required of the people, though contrary to their interest and knowledge; and it was

B O O K considered here, as in other countries, as their du-  
 XVIII. ty and their fate.

As great inconveniences had been found to arise in other colonies from large possessions, it was thought proper in Georgia to allow each family only fifty acres of land; which they were not permitted to mortgage, or even to dispose of by will to their female issue. This last regulation of making only the male issue capable of inheritance, was soon abolished; but there still remained too many obstacles to excite a spirit of emulation. It seldom happens, that a man resolves to leave his country but upon the prospect of some great advantage that works strongly upon his imagination. All limits, therefore, prescribed to his industry, are so many checks which prevent him from engaging in any project. The boundaries assigned to every plantation must necessarily have produced this bad effect. Several other errors still affected the original plan of this country, and prevented its increase.

THE taxes imposed upon the most fertile of the English colonies, are very inconsiderable, and even these are not levied till the settlements have acquired some degree of vigour and prosperity. From its infant state, Georgia had been subjected to the fines of a feudal government, with which it had been as it were fettered. The revenues raised by this kind of service increased prodigiously, in proportion as the colony extended itself. The founders of it, blinded by a spirit of avidity, did not perceive



perceive that the smallest duty imposed upon the B O O K trade of a populous and flourishing province, would XVIII. much sooner enrich them than the largest fines laid upon a barren and uncltivated country.

To this species of oppression was added another, which however incredible it may appear, might arise from a spirit of benevolence. The planters of Georgia were not allowed the use of slaves. Carolina and some other colonies having been established without their assistance, it was thought that a country destined to be the bulwark of those American possessions ought not to be peopled by a set of slaves, who could not be in the least interested in the defence of their oppressors. But it was not at the same time foreseen, that colonists, who were less favoured by the mother country, than their neighbours, who were situated in a country less susceptible of tillage and in a hotter climate, would want strength and spirit to undertake a cultivation that required greater encouragement.

THE indolence which so many obstacles gave rise to, found a further excuse, in another prohibition that had been imposed. The disturbances produced by the use of spirituous liquors over all the continent of North America, induced the founders of Georgia to forbid the importation of rum. This prohibition, though well intended, deprived the colonists of the only liquor that could correct the bad qualities of the waters of the country, which were generally unwholesome; and of  
the

BOOK XVIII. the only means they had to restore the waste of strength and spirits that must be the consequence of incessant labour. Besides this it prevented their commerce with the Antilles, as they could not go thither to barter their wood, corn and cattle that ought to have been their most valuable commodities, in return for the rum of those islands.

THE mother country, at length, perceived how much these defects in the political regulations and institutions had prevented the increase of the colony, and freed them from the restraints they had before been clogged with. The government in Georgia was settled upon the same plan as that which had rendered Carolina so flourishing; and instead of being dependent on a few individuals, became one of the national possessions.

THOUGH this colony has not so extensive a territory, so temperate a climate, nor so fertile a soil as the neighbouring province, and though it can never be so flourishing as Carolina, notwithstanding it cultivates rice, indigo, and almost all the same productions, yet it will become advantageous to the mother country, when the apprehensions arising from the tyranny of its government which have with reason prevented people from settling there, are removed. It will one day no longer be asserted, that Georgia is the least populous of all the English colonies upon the continent, notwithstanding the succours government has so amply bestowed upon it. All these advantages will fortunately be increased by the acquisition of Florida;

rida; a province, which from its vicinity must necessarily influence the prosperity of Georgia, and which claims our attention from still more important reasons.

UNDER the name of Florida the ambition of Spain comprehended all that tract of land in America, which extends from Mexico to the northern regions. But fortune, which sports with the vanity of nations, has long since confined this vague description to the peninsula formed by the sea on the channel of Bahama, between Georgia and Louisiana. The Spaniards, who had often contented themselves with preventing the population of a country they could not inhabit, were desirous in 1565 of settling on this spot, after having driven the French from it, who had begun the year before to form a small establishment there.

History of  
Florida.  
Its cession  
from the  
Spaniards  
to the Eng-  
lish.

THE most easterly settlement in this colony was known by the name of San Mattheo. The conquerors would have abandoned it, notwithstanding it was situated on a navigable river at two leagues distance from the sea, on an agreeable and fertile soil, had they not discovered the sassafras upon it.

THIS tree, a native of America, is of a better kind in Florida than in any other part of that continent. It grows equally on the borders of the sea and upon the mountains; but always in a soil that is neither too dry, nor too damp. It is straight and lofty like the fir-tree, it has no branches, and its top is formed somewhat in the shape of a cup. It is an ever-green, and its leaves resemble those of



BOOK XVIII. the laurel. Its flower, which is yellow, is taken in infusion as the mullein and tea. Its root, which is well known in trade, being very serviceable in medicine, ought to be spongy, light, of a greyish colour; of a sharp, sweetish and aromatic taste; and should have the smell of the fennel and anise. These qualities give it the virtue of promoting perspiration, resolving thick and viscid humours, and relieving palsies and catarrhs. It was formerly much used in venereal complaints.

THE first Spaniards who settled there, would, probably have fallen a sacrifice to this last disorder, without the assistance of this powerful remedy; they would, at least, not have recovered from those dangerous fevers they were generally subject to at St. Mattheo; either in consequence of the food of the country, or the badness of the waters. But the savages taught them, that by drinking in a morning fasting, and at their meals, water in which saffrafas had been boiled, they might certainly depend upon a speedy recovery. The experiment, upon trial, proved successful. But still the village never emerged from the obscurity and distress which were, undoubtedly, the natural and insurmountable evils that attended the conquerors of the new world.

ANOTHER establishment was formed upon the same coast, at fifteen leagues distance from San Mattheo, known by the name of St. Augustine. The English attacked it in 1747, but were obliged

to desist their attempts. Some Scotch High-BOOK  
landers, in endeavouring to cover the retreat of XVIII.  
the assailants, were repulied and slain. A ser-  
geant, who fought among the Spaniards, was  
spared by the Indian savages, only that he might  
be reserved to undergo those torments which they  
inflict upon their prisoners. This man, it is said,  
on seeing the horrid tortures that awaited him,  
addressed the blood-thirsty multitude in the fol-  
lowing manner :

“ HEROES and patriarchs of the western world,  
“ you were not the enemies that I fought for; but  
“ you have at last been the conquerors. The  
“ chance of war has thrown me in your power.  
“ Make what use you please of the right of con-  
“ quest. This is a right I do not call in ques-  
“ tion. But as it is customary in my country to  
“ offer a ransom for one’s life, listen to a proposal  
“ not unworthy your notice.

“ KNOW then, valiant Americans, that in the  
“ country of which I am a native, there are some  
“ men who possess a superior knowledge of the  
“ secrets of nature. One of those sages connected  
“ to me by the ties of kindred, imparted to me,  
“ when I became a soldier, a charm to make me  
“ invulnerable. You must have observed how I  
“ have escaped all your darts. Without such a  
“ charm would it have been possible for me to  
“ have survived all the mortal blows you have  
“ aimed at me? For I appeal to your own valour,  
“ to testify that mine has sufficiently exerted it-

BOOK XVIII. “ self, and has not avoided any danger. Life is  
 “ not so much the object of my request, as the  
 “ glory of having communicated to you a secret  
 “ of so much consequence to your safety, and of  
 “ rendering the most valiant nation upon the  
 “ earth, invincible. Suffer me only to have one  
 “ of my hands at liberty, in order to perform the  
 “ ceremonies of enchantment, of which I will now  
 “ make trial on myself before you.”

THE Indians listened with eagerness to this discourse, which was flattering both to their warlike character, and their turn for the marvellous. After a short consultation, they untied one of the prisoner's arms. The highlander begged that they would put his broad sword into the hands of the most expert and stoutest man among them; and at the same time laying bare his neck, after having rubbed it, and muttering some words accompanied with magic signs, he cried aloud with a cheerful countenance. “ Observe now, O valiant Indians,  
 “ an incontestable proof my honesty. Thou warrior, who now holdest my keen cutting weapon, do thou now strike with all thy strength:  
 “ far from being able to sever my head from my  
 “ body, thou wilt not even wound the skin of my  
 “ neck.”

HE had scarcely spoke these words, when the Indian, aiming the most violent blow, struck off the head of the serjeant, to the distance of twenty feet. The savages astonished, stood motionless, viewing the bloody corpse of the stranger; and then



then turned their eyes upon one another, as if to reproach each other with their blind credulity. But admiring the artifice the prisoner had made use of to avoid the torture by hastening his death, they bestowed on his body the funeral honours of their country. If this fact, the date of which is too recent to admit of credit, has not all the marks of authenticity it should have, it will only be one falsehood more to be added to the accounts of travellers.

THE Spaniards, who in all their progress through America, were more employed in destroying the inhabitants, than in erecting buildings, had formed only those two settlements we have taken notice of at the mouth of the channel of Bahama. At fourscore leagues distance from St. Augustine, upon the entrance of the gulph of Mexico, they had raised that of St. Mark, at the mouth of the river Apalache. But this situation, well adapted to maintain a communication between the two continents of the new world, had already lost all the little consequence it had at first obtained, when the English settled at Carolina in 1704, and entirely destroyed it.

At the distance of thirty leagues further was another colony, known by the name of St. Joseph, but of less consequence than that of St. Mark. Situated on a flat coast, exposed to every wind, and on a barren soil and an uncultivated country; it was the last place where one might expect to meet with inhabitants. But avarice being fre-

BOOK frequently a dupe to ignorance, some Spaniards settled there.

THOSE Spaniards who had formed an establishment at the bay of Pensacola upon the borders of Louisiana, were at least happier in their choice of situation. The soil was susceptible of culture; and there was a road which had it been a little deeper at its entrance, might have been thought a good one, if the best ships that arrived there had not soon been worm-eaten.

THESE five colonies, scattered over a space sufficient to have formed a great kingdom, did not contain more than three thousand inhabitants surpassing each other in sloth and poverty. They were all supported by the produce of their cattle. The hides they sold at the Havannah, and the provisions with which they served their garrison, whose pay amounted to 750,000 livres\* enabled them to purchase cloths and every article which their soil did not supply. Notwithstanding the miserable state in which they had been left by the mother country, the greatest part of them chose to go to Cuba, when Florida was ceded to England by the treaty of 1763. This acquisition, therefore, was no more than a desert, yet still it was some advantage to have got rid of a number of lazy, indolent and dissaffected inhabitants.

GREAT BRITAIN was pleased with the prospect of peopling a vast province, whose limits have been extended even to the Mississippi, by the cession

tion France has made of part of Louisiana. The BOOK  
 better to accomplish her design, she has divided XVIII.  
 it into two governments, under the names of East  
 and West Florida.

THE English had long been desirous of establishing themselves in that part of the continent, in order to open a free communication with the wealthiest colonies of Spain. At first they had no other view except the profits arising from a contraband trade. But an advantage so precarious and momentary, was not an object of sufficient importance, nor any way suitable to the ambition of a great power. Cultivation alone can render the conquests of an industrious people flourishing. Sensible of this the English give every encouragement to promote agriculture in the finest part of their dominions. In one year, 1769, the parliament voted no less than 205,875 livres\* for the two Floridas. Here, at least, the mother for some time administers nourishment to her new-born children; whereas, in other nations, the government sucks and exhausts at the same time the milk of the mother country and the blood of the colonies.

It is not easy to determine, to what degree of splendour this indulgence with time and good management may raise the Floridas. Appearances, however, are highly promising. The air is healthy, and the soil fit for every kind of grain. The first trials of rice, cotton, and indigo, were

By what  
 means  
 England  
 may render  
 Florida  
 useful to  
 her.

X 4

attended

\* 9,007l. os. 7d.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .



B O O K attended with such success, that the number of colonists was greatly increased by it. They pour in from the neighbouring provinces, the mother country, and all the protestant dominions in Europe. How greatly might this population be increased, if the sovereigns of North America would depart from the maxims they have uniformly pursued, and would condescend to intermarriages with Indian families! And for what reason should this method of civilizing the savage tribes, which has been so successfully employed by the most enlightened politicians, be rejected by a free people, who from their principles must admit a greater equality than other nations? Would they then be still reduced to the cruel alternative of seeing their crops burned, and their labourers massacred, or of persecuting without intermission, and exterminating without pity, those wandering bands of natives? Surely, a generous nation, which has made such great and such continued efforts to reign without a rival over this vast tract of the new world, should prefer to sanguinary and inglorious hostilities, a humane and infallible method of disarming the only enemy that remains to disturb her tranquillity!

THE English flatter themselves, that without the assistance of these alliances they shall soon be freed from the little interruption that remains. It is the fate of savage nations, say they, to waste away in proportion as the people of civilized states come to settle among them. Unable to submit to the

the labour of cultivation, and failing of their usual subsistence from the chase, they are reduced to the necessity of abandoning all those tracts of lands which industry and activity have undertaken to clear. This is actually the case with all the natives bordering on the European settlements. They keep daily retiring further into the woods; they fall back upon the Assenipouals and Hudson's bay, where they must necessarily encroach upon each other, and in a short time must perish for want of subsistence.

BUT before this total destruction is brought about, events of a very serious nature may occur. We have not yet forgotten the generous Pondiack. That formidable warrior had broke with the English in 1762. Major Roberts, who was employed to reconcile him, sent him a present of brandy. Some Iroquois, who were standing round their chief, shuddered at the sight of this liquor. Not doubting that it was poisoned, they insisted that he should not accept so suspicious a present. *How can it be*, said their leader, *that a man, who knows my esteem for him, and the signal services I have done him, should entertain a thought of taking away my life?* Saying this, he received and drank the brandy with a confidence equal to that of the most renowned hero of antiquity.

By many instances of magnanimity similar to this, the eyes of the savage nations had all been fixed upon Pondiack. His design was to unite them in a body for the defence of their lands and independ-

B O O K independence. Several unfortunate circumstances  
 XVIII. concurred to defeat this grand project; but it may  
 be resumed, and it is not impossible that it may  
 succeed. Should this be the case, the English will  
 be under a necessity of protecting their frontier  
 against an enemy, that hath none of those expen-  
 ces to sustain or evils to dread, which war brings  
 with it among civilized nations; and will find the  
 advantages they have promised themselves from  
 conquests made at the expence of so much trea-  
 sure and so much blood, considerably retarded,  
 at least, if not intirely lost.

Extent of  
 the British  
 dominions  
 in North  
 America.

THE two Floridas, part of Louisiana, and all  
 Canada, obtained at the same æra, either by con-  
 quest or treaty, have rendered the English masters  
 of all that space, which extends from the river St.  
 Lawrence to the Mississippi; so that without rec-  
 koning Hudson's bay, Newfoundland, and the  
 other islands of North-America, they are in posses-  
 sion of the most extensive empire that ever was  
 formed upon the face of the globe. This vast ter-  
 ritory is divided from north to south by a chain of  
 high mountains, which alternately receding from  
 and approaching the coast, leave between them  
 and the ocean a rich tract of land of a hundred  
 and fifty, two hundred, and sometimes three hun-  
 dred miles in breadth. Beyond the Apalachian  
 mountains is an immense desert, into which some  
 travellers have ventured as far as eight hundred  
 leagues without finding an end to it. It is suppos-  
 ed that the rivers at the extremity of these uncul-  
 tivated



tivated regions have a communication with the BOOK  
South-sea. If this conjecture, which is not desti- XVIII.  
tute of probability, should be confirmed by expe-  
rience, England would unite in her colonies all the  
branches of communication and commerce of the  
world. As her territories extend from one Ame-  
rican sea to the other, she may be said to join the  
four quarters of the world. From all her Euro-  
pean ports, from all her African settlements, she  
freights and sends out ships to the new world.  
From her maritime settlements in the east she would  
have a direct channel to the West Indies by the  
Pacific ocean. She would discover those slips of  
land or branches of the sea, the isthmus of the  
streight, which lies between the northern extremi-  
ties of Asia and America. By the vast extent of  
her colonies she would have in her own power all  
the avenues of trade, and would secure all the ad-  
vantages of it by her numerous fleets. Perhaps,  
by having the empire of all the seas she might as-  
pire to the supremacy of both worlds. But it is  
not in the destiny of any single nation to attain to  
such a pitch of greatness. Is then extent of domi-  
nion so flattering an object, when conquests are  
made only to be lost again? Let the Romans  
speak! Does it constitute power, to possess such a  
share of the globe, that some part shall always be  
enlightened by the rays of the sun, if while we  
reign in one world we are to languish in obscurity  
in the other? Let the Spaniards answer!

BOOK XVIII. THE English will be happy, if they can preserve by the means of culture and navigation, an empire, which must ever be found too extensive, when it cannot be maintained without bloodshed. But as this is the price, which ambition must always pay for the success of its enterprises, it is by commerce alone that conquests can become valuable to a maritime power. Never did war procure for any conqueror a territory more improvable by human industry than that of the northern continent of America. Although the land in general is so low near the sea, that in many parts it is scarcely distinguishable from the top of the main mast, even after anchoring in fourteen fathom, yet the coast is very easy of access, because the depth diminishes insensibly as you advance. From this circumstance it is easy to determine exactly by the line the distance of the main land. Besides this, the mariner has another sign, which is the appearance of trees, that, seeming to rise out of the sea, form an enchanting object to his view upon a shore, which presents roads and harbours without number for the reception and preservation of shipping.

THE productions of the earth arise in great abundance from a soil newly cleared; but on the other hand they are a long time before they come to maturity. Many plants are even so late in flower, that the winter prevents their ripening; while on our continent, both the fruit and the seed of them are gathered in a more northern latitude.

What

What can be the cause of this phænomenon? Before the arrival of the Europeans, the North Americans, living upon the produce of their hunting and fishery, left their lands totally uncultivated. The whole country was covered with woods and thickets. Under the shade of these forests grew a multitude of plants. The leaves, which fell every winter from the trees, formed a bed three or four inches thick. Before the damps had quite rotted this species of manure, the summer came on; and nature, left entirely to herself, continued heaping incessantly upon each other these effects of her fertility. The plants buried under wet leaves, through which they with difficulty made their way in a long course of time, became accustomed to a long vegetation. The force of culture has not yet been able to subdue the habit fixed and confirmed by ages, nor have the dispositions of nature given way to the influence of art. But this climate so long unknown or neglected by mankind, presents them with advantages, which supply the defects and ill consequences of that omission.

It produces almost all the trees that are natives of our climate. It has also others peculiar to itself; among which are the sugar maple, and the candleberry myrtle. The candleberry myrtle is a shrub which delights in a moist soil, and is, therefore, seldom found at any distance from the sea. Its seeds are covered with a white powder, which looks like flour. When they are gathered towards

Trees peculiar to North America.

the



BOOK the end of autumn, and put into boiling water, XVIII. there rises a viscous body, which swims at the top, and is skimmed off. As soon as this is come to a consistence, it is commonly of a dirty green colour. To purify it, it is boiled a second time, when it becomes transparent and acquires an agreeable green colour.

THIS substance, which in quality and consistence is a medium between tallow and wax, supplied the place of both to the first Europeans that landed in this country. The dearness of it has occasioned it to be less used, in proportion as the number of domestic animals hath increased. Nevertheless as it burns slower than tallow, is less subject to melt, and has not that disagreeable smell, it is still preferred, wherever it can be procured at a moderate price. The property of giving light is, of all its uses, the least valuable. It serves to make excellent soap and plaisters for wounds: it is even employed for the purpose of sealing letters. The sugar maple merits no less attention than the candleberry myrtle, as may be conceived from its name.

THIS tree, whose nature is to flourish by the side of streams, or in marshy places, grows to the height of an oak. In the month of March, an incision of the depth of three or four inches is made in the lower part of the trunk. A pipe is put into the orifice, through which the juice, that flows from it, is conveyed into a vessel placed to receive it. The young trees are so full of this liquor, that  
in

in half an hour they will fill a quart bottle. The BOOK old ones afford less, but of much better quality. No XVIII. more than one incision or two at most can be made without draining and weakening the tree. If three or four pipes are applied, it soon dies.

THE sap of this tree has naturally the flavour of honey. To reduce it to sugar, it is evaporated by fire, till it has acquired the consistence of a thick syrup. It is then poured into moulds of earthen ware or bark of the birch-tree. The syrup hardens as it cools, and becomes a red kind of sugar, almost transparent, and pleasant enough to the taste. To give it a whiteness, flour is sometimes mixed up with it in the making; but this ingredient always changes the flavour of it. This kind of sugar is used for the same purposes, as that which is made from canes; but eighteen or twenty pounds of juice go to the making of one pound of sugar, so that it can be of no great use in trade.

AMIDST the multitude of birds which inhabit the forests of North America, there is one extremely singular in its kind; this is the humming bird, a species of which, on account of its smallness, is called *Poiseau mouche*, or the fly bird. Its beak is long and pointed like a needle; and its claws are not thicker than a common pin. Upon its head it has a black tuft of incomparable beauty. Its breast is of a rose colour, and its belly white as milk. The back, wings and tail are grey, bordered with silver, and streaked with the brightest gold.

Birds peculiar to North America.


BOOK gold. The down, which covers all the plumage  
 XVIII. of this little bird, gives it so delicate a cast, that  
 it resembles a velvet flower, whose beauty fades on  
 the slightest touch.

THE spring is the only season for this charming  
 bird. Its nest, perched on the middle of a bough,  
 is covered on the outside with a grey and greenish  
 moss, and on the inside lined with a very soft down  
 gathered from yellow flowers. This nest is half  
 an inch in depth, and about an inch in diameter.  
 There are never found more than two eggs in it  
 about the size of the smallest peas. Many at-  
 tempts have been made to rear the young ones; but  
 they have never lived more than three weeks or a  
 month at most.

THE humming bird lives entirely on the juice  
 of flowers, fluttering from one to another, like  
 the bees. Sometimes it buries itself in the calix of  
 the largest flowers. Its flight produces a buzzing  
 noise like that of a spinning-wheel. When tired,  
 it lights upon the nearest tree or stake; rests a few  
 minutes, and flies again to the flowers. Notwith-  
 standing its weakness, it does not appear timid;  
 but will suffer a man to approach within eight or  
 ten feet of it.

WHO could imagine, that so diminutive an ani-  
 mal could be malicious, passionate and quarrel-  
 some? These birds are often seen fighting together  
 with great fury and obstinacy. The strokes they  
 give with their beak are so sudden and so quick,  
 that they are not distinguishable by the eye. Their  
 wings



wings move with such agility, that they seem not B O O K to move at all. They are more heard than seen: XVIII. and their noise resembles that of a sparrow. 

THESE little birds are all impatience. When they come near a flower, if they find it faded and withered, they tear all the leaves asunder. The precipitation with which they peck it, betrays, as it is said, the rage with which they are animated. Towards the end of the summer, thousands of flowers may be seen stript of all their leaves by the fury of the humming birds. It may be doubted, however, whether this mark of resentment is not rather an effect of hunger than of an unnecessarily destructive instinct.

NORTH AMERICA formerly was devoured by insects. As the air was not then purified, the ground cleared, the woods cut down, nor the waters drained off, these little animals destroyed without opposition all the productions of nature. None of them was useful to mankind. There is only one at present, which is the bee: but this is supposed to have been carried on from the old to the new world. The savages call it, the English fly; and it is only found near the coasts. These circumstances announce it to be of foreign original. The bees fly in numerous swarms through the forests of the new world. Their numbers are continually increasing, and their honey, which is converted to several uses, supplies many persons with food.

BOOK XVIII. THE bee is not the only present which Europe has had it in her power to make to America. She

{  
 The Eng-  
 lish supply  
 North  
 America  
 with do-  
 mestic ani-  
 mals.
 
 has enriched her also with a breed of domestic animals, for the savages had none. America had not yet associated beasts with men in the labours of cultivation, when the Europeans carried over thither in their ships several of their species of domestic animals. They have multiplied there prodigiously; but all of them, excepting the hog, whose whole merit consists in fattening himself, have lost much of that strength and size which they enjoyed in those countries from whence they were brought. The oxen, horses and sheep have degenerated in the northern colonies of England, though the particular kinds of each had been chosen with great precaution.

WITHOUT doubt, it is the climate, the nature of the air and the soil which has prevented the success of their transplantation. These animals, as well as the men, were at first attacked by epidemical disorders. If the contagion did not, as in the men, affect the principles of generation in them, several species of them at least were with much difficulty reproduced. Each generation fell short of the last; and as it happens to American plants in Europe, European cattle continually degenerated in America. Such is the law of climates, which wills every people, every animal and vegetable species to grow and flourish in its native soil. The love of their native soil seems an ordinance

ordinance of nature prescribed to all beings, like BOOK the desire of preserving their existence. XVIII.

YET there are certain correspondences of climate, which form exceptions to the general rule against transporting animals and plants. When the English first landed on the North-American continent, the wandering inhabitants of those desolate regions had scarcely arrived at the cultivation of a small quantity of maize. This species of corn, unknown at that time in Europe, was the only one known in the new world. The culture of it was by no means difficult. The savages contented themselves with taking off the turf, making a few holes in the ground with a stick, and throwing into each of them a single grain, which produced two hundred and fifty or three hundred. The method of preparing it for food was not more complicated. They pounded it in a wooden or stone mortar, and made it into a paste, which they baked under embers. They often ate it boiled or roasted merely upon the coals.

European grain is carried into North America by the English.

THE maize has many advantages. Its leaves are useful in feeding cattle; a circumstance of great moment where there are very few meadows. A hungry, light, sandy soil agrees best with this plant. The seed may be frozen in the spring two or three times without impairing the harvest. In short it is of all plants the one that is least injured by the excess of drought or moisture.

THESE causes, which introduced the cultivation of it in that part of the world, induced the Eng-



BOOK XVIII. lish to preserve and even promote it in their settlements. They sold it to Portugal, to South America, and the sugar islands, and had sufficient for their own use. They did not, however, neglect to enrich their plantations with European grains, all of which succeeded, though not so perfectly as in their native soil. With the superfluity of their harvests, the produce of their herds, and the clearing of their forests, the colonists formed a trade with all the wealthiest and most populous provinces of the new world.

THE mother country, finding that her northern colonies had supplanted her in her trade with South America, and fearing that they would soon become her rivals even in Europe at all the markets for salt and corn, endeavoured to divert their industry to objects that might be more useful to her. She wanted neither motives nor means to bring about this purpose, and had soon an opportunity to carry it into execution.

The English find the necessity of having their naval stores from America.

THE greatest part of the pitch and tar the English wanted for their fleet, used to be furnished by Sweden. In 1703, that state was so blind to its true interest, as to lay this important branch of commerce under the restrictions of an exclusive patent. The first effect of this monopoly was a sudden and unnatural increase of price. England taking advantage of this blunder of the Swedes, encouraged by considerable premiums the importation of all sorts of naval stores which North America could furnish.

THESE rewards did not immediately produce B O O K the effect that was expected from them. A bloody XVIII. war, raging in each of the four quarters of the world, prevented both the mother country and the colonies from giving to this beginning revolution in commerce the attention which it merited.

The modern nations, whose interest were united, taking this inaction, which was only occasioned by the hurry of a war, for an absolute proof of inability, thought they might without danger lay every restrictive clause upon the exportation of marine stores, that could contribute to enhance the price of them. For this end they entered into mutual engagements which were made public in 1718, a time, when all the maritime powers still felt the effects of a war, that had continued fourteen years.

ENGLAND was alarmed by so odious a convention. She dispatched to America men of sufficient ability to convince the inhabitants how necessary it was for them to assist the views of the mother country; and of sufficient experience to direct their first attempts towards great objects, without making them pass through those minute details, which quickly extinguish an ardour excited with difficulty. In a very short time such quantities of pitch, tar, turpentine, yards and masts were brought into the harbours of Great Britain, that she was enabled to supply the nations around her.

B O O K

XVIII.

THIS sudden success blinded the British government. The cheapness of the commodities furnished by the colonies, in comparison of those which were brought from the Baltic, gave them an advantage, which seemed to insure a constant preference. Upon this the ministry concluded that the bounties might be withdrawn. But they had not taken into their calculation the difference of freight, which was entirely in favour of their rivals. A total stop ensued in this branch of trade, and made them sensible of their error. In 1729, they revived the bounties; which though they were not laid so high as formerly, were sufficient to give to the vent of American stores the greatest superiority at least in England, over those of the northern nations.

THE woods, though they constituted the principal riches of the colonies, had hitherto been overlooked by the governors of the mother country. The produce of them had long been exported by the English to Spain, Portugal, and the different markets in the Mediterranean, where it was bought up for building and other uses. As these traders did not take in return merchandise sufficient to complete their cargoes, it had been a practice with the Hamburgers, and even the Dutch to import on their bottoms the produce of the most fertile climates of Europe. This double trade of export and carrying the merchandise of other nations had considerably augmented the British navy. The parliament, being informed of this



this advantage, in the year 1722, immediately ex- B O O K  
 empted the timber of the colonies from all those XVIII.  
 duties of importation, which Ruffian, Swedish and  
 Danish timber are subject to. This first favour  
 was followed by a bounty, which, at the same  
 time that it comprehended every species of wood  
 in general, was principally calculated for those,  
 which are employed in ship-building. An advan-  
 tage, so considerable in itself would have been  
 greatly improved; if the colonies had built among  
 themselves vessels proper for transporting cargoes  
 of such weight; if they had made dock yards,  
 from which they might have furnished complete  
 freights; and finally, if they had abolished the  
 custom of burning in the spring the leaves which  
 had fallen in the preceding autumn. This absurd  
 practice destroys all the young trees, that are be-  
 ginning in that season to shoot out; and leaves  
 only the old ones, which are too rotten for use.  
 It is notorious, that vessels constructed in Ame-  
 rica, or with American materials, last but a very  
 short time. This inconvenience may arise from  
 several causes; but that, which has just been  
 mentioned, merits the greater attention, as it may  
 be easily remedied. Besides timber and masts for  
 ships, America is capable of furnishing likewise  
 sails and rigging, by the cultivation of hemp and  
 flax.

THE French protestants, who, when driven  
 from their country by a victorious prince become  
 infected with a spirit of bigotry, carried their na-

BOOK I. national industry into all the countries of his ene-  
 XVIII. mies, and taught England the value of two com-  
 modities of the utmost importance to a maritime  
 power. Both flax and hemp were cultivated with  
 some success in Scotland and Ireland. Yet the  
 manufactures of the nation were chiefly supplied  
 with both from Russia. To put a stop to this fo-  
 reign importation, it was proposed to grant a  
 bounty to North-America of 135 livres\*, for  
 every ton of these articles. But habit, which is  
 averse from every thing that is new, however use-  
 ful, prevented the colonists at first from being al-  
 lured by this bait. They are since reconciled to  
 this bounty; and the produce of their flax and  
 hemp serves to keep at home a considerable part  
 of 45,000,000 † of livres, which went annually  
 out of Great Britain for the purchase of foreign  
 linens. It may, perhaps, in time be improved so  
 far as to supply the whole demand of the king-  
 dom, and even to supplant other nations in all the  
 markets. A soil entirely fresh, which costs no-  
 thing, does not stand in need of manure, is inter-  
 sected by navigable rivers, and may be cultivated  
 by slaves, affords ground for immense expecta-  
 tions. To the timber and canvas requisite for  
 shipping we have yet to add iron. The northern  
 parts of America furnish this commodity which  
 assists in acquiring the gold and silver that flow so  
 abundantly in the southern.

England  
 begins to  
 get iron  
 from North  
 America.

THIS most serviceable of metals, so necessary to  
 mankind, was unknown to the Americans, till  
 the

\* 6l.

† 1,968,750l

the Europeans taught them the most fatal use of B O O K  
 it, that of making weapons. The English them- XVIII.  
 selves long neglected the iron mines, which na-  
 ture had lavished on the continent, where they  
 were settled. That channel of wealth had been  
 diverted from the mother country by being  
 clogged with enormous duties. The proprietors  
 of the national mines, in concert with those of the  
 coppice woods, which are used in the working of  
 them, had procured imposts to be laid on them  
 that amounted to a prohibition. By corruption,  
 intrigue, and sophistry, these enemies to the pub-  
 lic good had stifled a competition, which would  
 have been fatal to their interests. At length the  
 government took the first step towards a right  
 conduct. The importation of American iron into  
 the port of London was granted, duty free; but  
 at the same time it was forbidden to be carried to  
 any other ports, or even more than ten miles in-  
 land. This whimsical restriction continued till  
 1757. At that time the general voice of the peo-  
 ple called upon the parliament to repeal an ordi-  
 nance so manifestly contrary to every principle of  
 public utility, and to extend to the whole king-  
 dom a privilege which had been granted exclu-  
 sively to the capital.

THOUGH nothing could be more reasonable  
 than this demand, it met with the strongest oppo-  
 sition. Combinations of interested individuals  
 were formed to represent, that the hundred and  
 nine forges worked in England, not reckoning  
 those



BOOK those of Scotland, produced annually eighteen  
XVIII. thousand tons of iron, and employed a great num-  
ber of able workmen; that the mines, which were  
inexhaustible, would have supplied a much greater  
quantity, had not a perpetual apprehension pre-  
vailed that the duties on American iron would be  
taken off; that the iron works carried on in Eng-  
land consumed annually one hundred and ninety-  
eight thousand cords of underwood, and that those  
woods furnished moreover bark for the tanneries  
and materials for ship-building; and that the  
American iron, not being proper for steel, for  
making sharp instruments, or many of the utensils  
of navigation, would contribute very little to les-  
sen the importation from abroad, and would have  
no other effect than that of putting a stop to the  
forges of Great Britain.

THESE groundless representations had no weight  
with the parliament, who saw clearly that unless  
the price of the original materials could be les-  
sened, the nation would soon lose the numberless  
manufactures of iron and steel, by which it had so  
long been enriched; and that there was no time  
to be lost in putting a stop to the progress other  
nations were making in these works. It was  
therefore resolved that the free importation of iron  
from America should be permitted in all the ports of  
England. This wise resolution was accompanied  
with an act of justice. The proprietors of cop-  
pices were by a statute of Henry the eighth forbid-  
den to clear their lands: but the parliament took  
off

off this prohibition, and left them at liberty to **BOOK** make use of their estates as they should think **XVIII.** proper.

PREVIOUS to these regulations, Great Britain used to pay annually to Spain, Norway, Sweden and Russia ten millions of livres \* for the iron she purchased of them. This tribute is greatly lessened, and will still decrease. The ore is found in such quantities in America, and is so easily separated from the ground, that the English do not despair of having it in their power to furnish Portugal, Turkey, Africa, the East-Indies, and every country in the world with which they have any commercial connections.

PERHAPS, the English may be too sanguine in their representations of the advantages they expect from so many articles of importance to their navy. But it is sufficient for them, if by the assistance of their colonies they can free themselves from that dependence in which the northern powers of Europe have hitherto kept them, with regard to the equipment of their fleets. Formerly their enterprises might have been prevented or at least interrupted by a refusal of the necessary materials. From this time nothing will be able to check their natural ardour for the empire of the sea, which alone can insure to them the empire of the new world.

AFTER having paved the way to that grand object, by forming a free, independent navy, super-

England endeavours to procure wine and silk from North America.

BOOK

XVIII. prior to that of every other nation; England has adopted every measure, that can contribute to her enjoyment of a species of conquest she has made in America, not so much by the force of her arms as by her industry. By bounties judiciously bestowed, she has succeeded so far as to draw annually from that country twenty million weight of pot-ashes. The greatest progress has been made in the cultivation of rice, indigo and tobacco. In proportion as the settlements, from their natural tendency, stretched further towards the south, fresh projects and enterprises suitable to the nature of the soil suggested themselves. In the temperate and in the hot climates, the several productions were expected which necessarily reward the labours of the cultivator. Wine was the only article that seemed to be wanting in the new hemisphere; and the English, who have none in Europe, were eager to produce some in America.

UPON that immense continent the English are in possession of, are found prodigious quantities of wild vines, which bear grapes, differing in colour, size and quantity, but all of a sour and disagreeable flavour. It was supposed that good management would give these plants that perfection, which unassisted nature had denied them; and French vine-dressers were invited into a country, where neither public nor private impositions took away their inclination to labour by depriving them of the fruits of their industry. The repeated experiments they made both with American and European



European plants, were all equally unsuccessful. B O O K  
 The juice of the grape was too watery, too weak, XVIII.  
 and almost impossible to be preserved in a hot climate. The country was too full of woods, which attract and confine the moist and hot vapours; the seasons were too unsettled, and the insects too numerous near the forests to suffer a production to grow up and prosper, of which the English and all other nations who have it not are so ambitious. The time will come, perhaps, though it will be long first, when their colonies will furnish them with a liquor, which they envy and purchase from France, repining inwardly that they are obliged to contribute towards enriching a rival, whom they are anxious to ruin. This disposition is cruel. England has other more gentle and more honourable means of attaining that prosperity she is ambitious of. Her emulation may be better and more usefully exerted on an article now cultivated in each of the four quarters of the globe; this is silk! the work of that little worm which clothes mankind with the leaves of trees digested in its entrails: silk! that double prodigy of nature and of art.

A very considerable sum of money is annually exported from Great Britain for the purchase of this rich production; which gave rise about thirty years ago to a plan for obtaining silk from Carolina; the mildness of the climate, and the great abundance of mulberry trees seemed favourable to the project. Some attempts made by the govern-  
 ment.

BOOK XVIII. ment to attract some Switzers into the colony, were more successful than could have been expected. Yet the progress of this branch of trade has not been answerable to so promising a beginning. The blame has been laid on the inhabitants of the colony, who buying only negro men, from whom they received an immediate and certain profit, neglected to have women, who with their children might have been employed in bringing up silk-worms, an occupation suitable to the weakness of that sex, and to the tenderest age. But it ought to have been considered, that men coming from another hemisphere into a rude uncultivated country, would apply their first care to the cultivation of esculent plants, breeding cattle, and the toils of immediate necessity. This is the natural and constant proceeding of well-governed states. From agriculture, which is the source of population, they rise to the arts of luxury; and the arts of luxury nourish commerce, which is the child of industry and parent of wealth. The time is, perhaps, come, when the English may employ whole colonies in the cultivation of silk. This is, at least, the national opinion. On the 18th of April 1769, the parliament granted a bounty of 25 per cent. for seven years on all raw silks imported from the colonies; a bounty of 20 per cent. for seven years following, and for seven years after that a bounty of 15 per cent. If this encouragement produces such improvements as may reasonably be expected from it,

it, the next step undoubtedly will be the cultivation of cotton and olive trees, which seem particularly adapted to the climate and soil of the English colonies. There are not, perhaps, any rich productions either in Europe or Asia, but what may be transplanted and cultivated with success on the vast continent of North America, as soon as population shall have provided hands in proportion to the extent and fertility of so rich a territory. The great object of the mother country at present is the peopling of her colonies.

THE first persons, who landed in this desert and savage region were Englishmen, who had been persecuted at home for their civil and religious opinions.

With what kind of men England peopled her North American colonies.

IT was not to be expected that this first emigration would be attended with important consequences. The inhabitants of Great Britain are so strongly attached to their native soil, that nothing less than civil wars or revolutions can incline those among them, who have any property, character, or industry, to a change of climate and country: for which reason, the re-establishment of public tranquillity in Europe was likely to put an insurmountable bar to the progress of American cultivation.

ADD to this, that the English, though naturally active, ambitious and enterprising, were ill-adapted to the business of clearing the grounds. Accustomed to a quiet life, ease and many conveniences, nothing but the enthusiasm of religion or politics



B O O K politics could support them under the labours, mi-  
 XVIII. series, wants and calamities inseparable from new  
 } plantations.

IT is further to be observed, that, though Eng-  
 land might have been able to overcome these dif-  
 ficulties, she ought not to have wished to do it.  
 Without doubt, the founding of colonies, render-  
 ing them flourishing, and enriching herself with  
 their productions, was an advantageous prospect  
 to her; but those advantages would be dearly pur-  
 chased at the expence of her own population.

HAPPILY for her, the intolerant and despotic  
 spirit, that prevailed in most countries in Europe,  
 forced numberless victims to take refuge in an un-  
 cultivated tract, which, in its state of desolation,  
 seemed to implore that assistance for itself which it  
 offered to the unfortunate. These men, who had  
 escaped from the rod of tyranny, in crossing the  
 seas, abandoned all the hopes of return, and at-  
 tached themselves for ever to a country, which at  
 the same time afforded them an asylum and an  
 easy quiet subsistence. Their good fortune could  
 not remain for ever unknown. Multitudes flocked  
 from different parts to partake of it. Nor has  
 this eagerness abated, particularly in Germany,  
 where nature produces men for the purposes either  
 of conquering or cultivating the earth. It will  
 even increase. The advantage granted to emi-  
 grants, throughout the British dominions, of be-  
 ing naturalized by a residence of seven years in  
 the colonies, sufficiently warrants this prediction.

WHILE

WHILE tyranny and persecution were destroying B O O K population in Europe, English America was be- xviii. ginning to be peopled with three sorts of inhabitants. The first class consists of freemen. It is the most numerous; but hitherto it has visibly degenerated. The Creoles in general, though habituated to the climate from their cradle, are not so robust and fit for labour, nor so powerful in war as the Europeans; either because they have not the improvements of education, or are softened by nature. In that foreign clime the mind is enervated as well as the body: endued with a quickness and early penetration, it hath a ready conception, but wants steadiness, and is not used to continued thought. It must be a matter of astonishment to find that America has not produced one good poet, able mathematician, or man of genius in any single art or science. The Americans possess in general a readiness for acquiring the knowledge of every art or science, but not one shews any superior talent for any one in particular. More early advanced, and arriving at a state of maturity sooner than we do, they are much behind us in the latter part of life.

PERHAPS, it will be said, that their population is not very numerous, in comparison of that of all Europe together; that they want aids, masters, models, instruments, emulation in the arts and sciences; that education is too neglected, or too little improved. But we may observe, that in proportion, we see more persons in America of good birth,

B O O K

birth, of an easy, competent fortune, with a greater share of leisure and of other means of improving their natural abilities, than are found in Europe, where even the very method of training up youth is often repugnant to the progress and unfolding of reason and genius. Is it possible that although the Creoles educated with us have every one of them good sense, or, at least, the majority of them, yet not one should have arisen to any great degree of perfection in the slightest pursuit; and that among such as have staid in their country no one has distinguished himself by a confirmed superiority in those talents which lead to fame? Has nature then punished them for having crossed the ocean? Are they a race of people for ever degenerated by transplanting, by growth and by mixture? Will not time be able to reconcile them to the nature of their climate? Let us beware to judge of future events, before we have the experience of several centuries. Let us wait till education has corrected the insurmountable tendency of the climate towards the enervating pleasures of luxury and sensuality. Perhaps, we shall then see that America is propitious to genius, and the arts that give birth to peace and society. A new Olympus, an Arcadia, an Athens, a new Greece will produce; perhaps, on the continent, or in the Archipelago that surrounds it, another Homer, a Theocritus, and especially an Anacreon. Perhaps, another Newton is to arise in New Britain. From English America without doubt will proceed



ceed the first rays of the sciences, if they are at length to break through a sky so long obscured with clouds: By a singular contract with the old world, in which the arts have passed from the south towards the north; we shall find that in the new world, the north serves to enlighten the southern parts. Let the English clear the ground, purify the air, alter the climate, improve nature, and a new universe will arise out of their hands for the glory and happiness of mankind. But it is necessary that they should take steps conformable to this noble design, and aim by justice and laudable means to form a set of people fit for the creation of a new world. This is what they have not done.

THE second class of their colonists was formerly composed of malefactors which the mother country transported after condemnation to America, and who were bound to a servitude of seven or fourteen years to the planters who had purchased them from the courts of justice. These corrupt men, always disposed to commit fresh crimes, have at length been universally neglected.

THEY have been replaced by indigent persons, whom the impossibility of subsisting in Europe has driven into the new world. Having embarked without being able to pay for their passage, these wretched men are at the disposal of their captain, who sells them to whom he pleases.

THIS sort of slavery is for a longer or shorter time; but it can never exceed eight years. If

BOOK among these emigrants there are any who are not  
 XVIII. of age, their servitude lasts till they arrive at that  
 } period, which is fixed at twenty-one for the boys,  
 and eighteen for the girls.

NONE of those who are contracted for have a right to marry without the approbation of their master, who sets what price he chooses on his consent. If any one of them runs away, and is retaken, he is to serve a week for each day's absence, a month for every week, and six months for one. The proprietor who does not think proper to receive again one who has deserted from his service, may sell him to whom he pleases, but that is only for the term of the first contract. Besides neither the service, nor the sale, carry any ignominy with it. At the end of his servitude, the contracted person enjoys all the rights of a free citizen. With his freedom, he receives from the master whom he has served, either implements for husbandry, or utensils proper for his work.

BUT with whatever appearance of justice this species of traffic may be coloured, the greatest part of the strangers who go over to America under these conditions, would never go on board a ship, if they were not inveigled away. Some artful kidnappers from the fens of Holland spread themselves over the Palatinate, Suabia, and the cantons of Germany, which are the best peopled or least happy. There they set forth with raptures the delights of the new world, and the fortunes easily acquired in that country. Simple men, seduced

duced by these magnificent promises, blindly follow these infamous brokers engaged in this scandalous commerce, who deliver them over to factors at Amsterdam or Rotterdam. These, either in pay with the British government, or with companies who have undertaken to stock the colonies with inhabitants, give a gratuity to the men employed in this service. Whole families are sold without their knowledge to masters at a distance, who impose the harder conditions upon them, as hunger and necessity do not permit the sufferers to give a refusal. The English form their supplies of men for husbandry, as princes do for war; for a purpose indeed more useful and more humane, but by the same artifices. The deception is perpetually carried on in Europe, by carefully suppressing all correspondence with America, which might unveil a mystery of imposture and iniquity, too well disguised by the interested principles which gave rise to it.

BUT in short there would not be so many dupes, if there were fewer victims. It is the oppression of government which makes these chimerical ideas of fortune be adopted by the credulity of the people. Men, unfortunate in their private affairs, vagabonds or contemptible at home, have nothing worse to fear in a foreign climate, easily embrace the prospect of a better lot. The means made use of to retain them in a country where chance has given them birth, are only calculated to excite in them a desire to quit it. It is vainly supposed that



B O O K they are to be confined by prohibitions, menaces, XVIII. and punishments: these do but exasperate them, and drive them to desertion by the very forbidding of it. They should be attached by milder means, and by future expectations; whereas they are imprisoned, and bound: man, born free, is restrained from attempting to exist in regions, where heaven and earth offer him an asylum. It has been thought better to stifle him in his cradle than to let him seek for his subsistence in some favourable climate. It is not judged proper even to leave him the choice of his burial-place.—Tyrants in policy! these are the effects of your laws! People, where then are your rights?

Is it then become necessary to lay open to the nations the schemes that are formed against their liberty? Must they be told, that by a conspiracy of the most odious nature, certain powers have lately entered into an agreement, which must deprive even despair itself of every resource? For these two centuries past, all the princes of Europe have been fabricating in the secret recesses of the cabinet that long and heavy chain with which the people are encompassed on every side. At every negotiation fresh links were added to the chain so artificially contrived. Wars tended not to make states more extensive, but subjects more submissive, by gradually substituting military government in lieu of the mild and gentle influence of laws and morality. The several sovereigns have all equally strengthened themselves in their tyranny

ny

ny by theie conquests, or by their losses. When they were victorious, they reigned by their armies; when humbled by defeat, they held the command by the misery of their pusillanimous subjects; if they were either competitors or adversaries from motives of ambition, they entered into league or alliance, only to aggravate the servitude of their people. If they ceded a province, they exhausted every other that they might either recover it, or indemnify themselves by the loss. If they acquired a new one, the haughtiness they affected out of it, was the occasion of cruelty and extortion within. They borrowed one of another by turns every art and invention, whether of peace or of war, that might concur sometimes to foment natural antipathy and rivalry, sometimes to obliterate the character of the nations; as there had been a tacit agreement among the rulers to subject the nations one by means of another to the despotism they had constantly been preparing for them. Ye people who all groan more or less secretly, be not blinded with respect to your condition; those who never entertained any affection for you, are come now not to have any fear for you. In the extremity of wretchedness one single resource remained for you; that of escape and emigration.— Even that has been shut against you.


PRINCES have agreed among themselves to restore to one another deserters, who for the most part enlisted by compulsion or by fraud, have a right to escape; not only villains who in reality

BOOK ought not to find a refuge any where; but indifferently all their subjects, whatever may be the motive that obliged them to quit their country.

Thus all ye unhappy labourers, who find neither subsistence nor work in your own countries, after they have been ravaged and rendered barren by the exactions of finance; thus ye die where ye had the misfortune to be born, ye have no refuge but in the grave. All ye artists and workmen of every species harrassed by monopolists, who are refused the right of working at your own free disposal, unless you have purchased the privileges of your calling: ye who are kept for your whole life in the work shop, for the purpose of enriching a privileged factor: ye whom a court-mourning leaves for months together without bread or wages; never expect to live out of a country where soldiers and guards keep you imprisoned; go wander in despair, and die of regret. If ye venture to complain, your cries will be re-echoed and lost in the depth of a dungeon; if ye make your escape, ye will be pursued even beyond mountains and rivers; ye will be sent back, or given up, bound hand and foot, to torture; and to that eternal restraint to which you have been condemned from your birth. Do you likewise, whom nature has endowed with a free spirit, independent of prejudice and error, who dare to think and talk like men, do you erase from your minds every idea of truth, nature and humanity. Applaud every attack made on your country and your fellow-

low



low-citizens, or else maintain a profound silence in B O O K  
 the recesses of obscurity and concealment. All ye XVIII.  
 who were born in those barbarous states, where   
 the condition for the mutual restoration of de-  
 ferrers has been entered into by the several princes,  
 and sealed by a treaty; recollect the inscription  
 Dante has engraven on the gate of his infernal re-  
 gion: *Voi ch' entrate, lasciate omai ogni speranza:*  
*You who enter here, leave behind you every hope.*

WHAT! is there then no asylum remaining be-  
 yond the seas? Will not England open her colo-  
 nies to those wretches, who voluntarily prefer her  
 dominion to the insupportable yoke of their own  
 country? What occasion has she for that infamous  
 band of contracted slaves, seduced and debauched  
 by the shameful means employed by every state to  
 increase their armies? What need has she of those  
 beings still more miserable, of whom she composes  
 the third class of her American inhabitants? Yes,  
 by an iniquity the more shocking as it is appa-  
 rently the less necessary; her northern colonies  
 have had recourse to the traffic, and slavery of the  
 negroes. It will not be disowned, that they may  
 be better fed, better clothed, less ill-treated, and  
 less overburthened with toil than in the islands.  
 The laws protect them more effectually, and they  
 seldom become the victims of the barbarity or  
 caprice of an odious tyrant. But still what must  
 be the burthen of a man's life who is condemned  
 to languish in eternal slavery? Some humane sec-  
 taries, christians who look for virtues in the gos-  
 pel,

B O O K  
 XVIII. pel, more than for opinions, have often been de-  
 sirous of restoring to their slaves that liberty for  
 which they cannot receive any adequate compensa-  
 tion; but they have been a long time withheld by  
 a law of the state, which directed that an assign-  
 ment of a sufficiency for subsistence should be made  
 to those who were set at liberty.

LET us rather say, they have been prevented  
 from doing this by the convenient custom of be-  
 ing waited on by slaves; by the fondness they  
 have for power, which they attempt to justify by  
 pretending to alleviate their servitude; and by the  
 opinion so readily entertained that they do not  
 complain of a state, which is by time changed  
 into nature: these are the sophisms of self-love,  
 calculated to appease the clamours of conscience.  
 The generality of mankind are not born with evil  
 dispositions, or prone to do ill by choice; but  
 even among those whom nature seems to have  
 formed just and good, there are but few who pos-  
 sess a soul sufficiently disinterested, courageous  
 and great, to do any good action, if they must  
 sacrifice some advantage for it.

BUT still the quakers have lately set an example  
 which ought to make an epocha in the history of  
 religion and humanity. In one of their assem-  
 blies, where every one of the faithful, who con-  
 ceives himself moved by the impulse of the holy  
 spirit; has a right of speaking; one of the bre-  
 thren, who was himself undoubtedly inspired on  
 this occasion, arose and said: "How long then  
 shall

“ shall we have two consciences, two measures, B O O K  
 “ two scales ; one in our own favour, one for the XVIII.  
 “ ruin of our neighbour, both equally false ? Is it  
 “ for us, brethren, to complain at this moment,  
 “ that the parliament of England wishes to en-  
 “ slave us, and to impose upon us the yoke of  
 “ subjects, without leaving us the rights of ci-  
 “ tizens ; while for this century past, we have  
 “ been calmly acting the part of tyrants, by keep-  
 “ ing in bonds of the hardest slavery men who  
 “ are our equals and our brethren ? What have  
 “ those unhappy men done to us, whom nature  
 “ had separated from us by barriers so formidable,  
 “ whom our avarice has sought after through  
 “ storms and wrecks, and brought away from the  
 “ midst of their burning sands, or from their dark  
 “ forests inhabited by tygers ? What crime have  
 “ they been guilty of, that they should be torn  
 “ from a country which fed them without toil,  
 “ and that they should be transplanted by us to a  
 “ land where they perish under the labours of ser-  
 “ vitude ? Father of Heaven, what family hast  
 “ Thou then created, in which the elder born,  
 “ after having seized on the property of their bre-  
 “ thren, are still resolved to compel them, with  
 “ stripes, to manure with the blood of their veins  
 “ and the sweat of their brow that very inheritance  
 “ of which they have been robbed ? Deplorable  
 “ race, whom we render brutes to tyrannize over  
 “ them ; in whom we extinguish every power of  
 “ the soul, to load their limbs and their bodies  
 “ with



BOOK XVIII. “ with burthens ; in whom we efface the image of  
 “ God, and the stamp of manhood. A race mu-  
 “ tilated and dishonoured as to the faculties of  
 “ mind and body, throughout its existence, by  
 “ us who are christians and Englishmen ! Eng-  
 “ lishmen, ye people favoured by Heaven, and  
 “ respected on the seas, would ye be free and ty-  
 “ rants at the same instant ? No, brethren ! it is  
 “ time we should be consistent with ourselves.  
 “ Let us set free those miserable victims of our  
 “ pride : let us restore the negroes to that liberty,  
 “ which man should never take from man. May  
 “ all christian societies be induced by our example  
 “ to repair an injustice authorized by the crimes  
 “ and plunders of two centuries ! May men too  
 “ long degraded, at length raise to Heaven their  
 “ arms freed from chains, and their eyes bathed  
 “ in tears of gratitude ! Alas ! these unhappy  
 “ mortals have hitherto shed no tears but those of  
 “ despair !”

THIS discourse awakened remorse, and the slaves in Pensylvania were set at liberty. A revolution so amazing must necessarily have been the work of a people inclined to toleration. But let us not expect similar instances of heroism in those countries which are as deep sunk in barbarism by the vices attendant on luxury, as they have formerly been from ignorance. When a government, at once both priestly and military, has brought every thing, even the opinions of men, under its yoke ; when man, become an impostor,

has

has persuaded the armed multitude that he holds B O O K from Heaven the right of oppressing the earth; XVIII. there is no shadow of liberty left for civilized nations. Why should they not take their revenge on the savage people of the torrid zone?

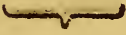
NOT to mention the population of the negroes, which may amount to 300,000 slaves, in 1750 a million of inhabitants were reckoned in the British provinces of North America. There must be at present upwards of two millions; since it is proved by undeniable calculations that the number of people doubles every 15 or 16 years in some of those provinces, and every 18 or 20 in others. So rapid an increase must have two sources; the first is that number of Irishmen, Jews, Frenchmen, Switzers, Palatines, Moravians, and Saltburghers, who after having been worn out with the political and religious troubles they had experienced in Europe, have gone in search of peace and quietness in these distant climates. The second source of that amazing increase arises from the climate itself of the colonies, where experience has shewn that the people naturally doubled their numbers every five and twenty years. The observations of Mr. Franklin will make these truths evident.

THE numbers of the people, says that philosopher, increase every where in proportion to the number of marriages; and that number increases as the means of subsisting a family are rendered more easy. In a country where the means of subsistence

BOOK XVIII. } sistance abound, more people marry early. In a society, whose prosperity is a mark of its antiquity, the rich alarmed at the expences which female luxury brings along with it, engage as late as possible in a state, which it is difficult to enter into, and expensive to maintain; and the persons, who have no fortunes, pass their days in a celibacy which disturbs the married state. The masters have but few children, the servants have none at all; and the artificers are afraid of having any. This circumstance is so evident, especially in great towns, that the population in them is not kept up to its usual standard, and that we constantly find there are a greater number of deaths than births. Happily for us this decrease has not yet penetrated into the country, where the constant practice of making up the deficiency of the towns, gives a little more scope for population. But the lands being every where occupied, and let at the highest rate, those who cannot acquire property of their own, are hired by those who are in possession of it. Rivalship, owing to the multitude of workmen, lowers the price of labour, and the smallness of their profit takes away the desire and the hope of, as well as the abilities requisite for increase by marriage. Such is the present state of Europe.

THAT of America presents an appearance of a quite contrary nature. Tracts of land, waste and uncultivated, are either given away, or may be obtained for so moderate a price, that a man of the least turn for labour, is furnished in a short time with



with an extent, which while it is sufficient to rear B O O K  
 a numerous family, will maintain his posterity for XVIII.  
 a considerable time. The inhabitants; therefore,   
 of the new world, induced likewise by the climate,  
 marry in greater numbers, and at an earlier time  
 of life, than the inhabitants of Europe. Where  
 one hundred enter into the married state in Eu-  
 rope, there are two hundred in America, and if  
 we reckon four children to each marriage in our  
 climates, we should allow, at least, eight in the  
 new hemisphere. If we multiply these families by  
 their produce, it will appear that in less than two  
 centuries, the British northern colonies will arrive  
 at an immense degree of population, unless the  
 mother country should contrive some obstacles to  
 impede its natural progress.

THEY are now peopled with healthy and robust Happiness  
 men, of a stature above the common size. These of the in-  
 Creoles are more lively and come to their full habitants  
 growth sooner than the Europeans: but do not in the Bri-  
 live so long. The inhabitants are supplied with tish colo-  
 great plenty of every thing requisite for food, by nies of  
 the low price of meat, fish, grain, game, fruits, North  
 cyder, vegetables. Clothing is not so easily pro- America,  
 cured, that being still very dear, whether it be  
 brought from Europe, or made in the country.  
 Manners are in the state they should be among  
 young colonies, and people given to cultivation,  
 who are not yet polished nor corrupted by re-  
 siding in great cities. Throughout the families in  
 general, there reigns oeconomy, neatness, and re-  
 gularity

XVIII. regularity. Gallantry and gaming, the passions of indolent opulence, seldom interrupt that happy tranquillity. The sex are still what they should be, gentle, modest, compassionate, and useful; they are in possession of those virtues which perpetuate the empire of their charms. The men are engaged in their first occupations, the care and improvement of their plantations, which will be the support of their posterity. One general sentiment of benevolence unites every family. Nothing contributes to this union so much as a certain equality of station, a security that arises from property, hope, and a general facility of increasing it; in a word, nothing contributes to it so much as the reciprocal independence in which all men live, with respect to their wants, joined to the necessity of social connections for the purposes of their pleasures. Instead of luxury, which brings misery in its train, instead of this afflicting and shocking contrast, an universal ease wisely dealt out in the original distribution of the lands, has by the influence of industry given rise in every breast to the mutual desire of pleasing; a desire, without doubt, more satisfactory than the secret disposition to injure our brethren, which is inseparable from an extreme inequality of fortune and condition. Men never meet without satisfaction when they are neither in that state of mutual distance which leads to indifference, nor in that way of rivalry which borders on hatred. They come nearer together and unite in societies; in short it

is in the colonies that men lead such a rural life as B O O K  
 was the original destination of mankind, best XVIII.  
 suited to the health and increase of the species :  
 probably they enjoy all the happiness consistent  
 with the frailty of human nature. We do not,  
 indeed, find there those graces, those talents,  
 those refined enjoyments, the means and expence  
 of which wear out and fatigue the springs of the  
 soul, and bring on the vapours of melancholy  
 which so naturally follow the disgust arising from  
 sensual enjoyment : but there are the pleasures of  
 domestic life, the mutual attachments of parent  
 and children, and conjugal love, that passion so  
 pure and so delicious to the soul that can taste it,  
 and despise all other gratifications. This is the  
 enchanting prospect exhibited throughout North  
 America. It is in the wilds of Florida and Vir-  
 ginia, even in the forests of Canada, that men are  
 enabled to continue in love during their whole  
 life what was the object of their first affection,  
 that innocence and virtue, which never entirely  
 lose their beauty.

If there be any circumstance wanting to the  
 happiness of British America, it is that of form-  
 ing one entire nation. Families are there found  
 sometimes re-united, sometimes dispersed, origi-  
 nating from all the different countries of Europe.  
 These colonists, in whatever spot chance or dis-  
 cernment may have placed them, all preserve  
 with a prejudice not to be worn out, their mother  
 tongue, the partialities and the customs of their



BOOK own country. Separate schools and churches  
 XVIII. hinder them from mixing with the hospitable people, who afford them a place of refuge. Still estranged from this people by worship, by manners, and probably, by their feelings, they harbour seeds of dissention that may one day prove the ruin and total overthrow of the colonies. The only preservative against this disaster depends entirely on the conduct of the governments they belong to.

What kind of government is established in the British colonies of North America.

By governments must not be understood those strange constitutions of Europe, which are an absurd mixture of sacred and profane laws. English America was wise or happy enough not to admit any ecclesiastical power: being from the beginning inhabited by presbyterians, she rejected with horror every thing that might revive the idea of it. All affairs that in the other parts of the globe are determined by the ecclesiastical courts, are here brought before the civil magistrate, or the national assemblies. The attempts made by the members of the English church to establish their hierarchy in that country, have ever been abortive, notwithstanding the support given them by the mother country: but still they are equally concerned in the administration as well as those of other sects. None but catholics have been excluded, on account of their refusing those oaths which the public tranquillity seemed to require. In this view American government has deserved

the

the greatest commendation; but in other respects, B O O K  
it is not so well combined. XVIII.

POLICY, in its aim and principal object resembles the education of children. They both tend to form men, and should be in several respects similar to each other. Savage people, first united in society, require as much as children to be sometimes led on by gentle means, and sometimes restrained by compulsion. For want of experience, which alone forms our reason, as these savages are incapable of governing themselves in the several changes of things and the various concerns that belong to a rising society, the government that conducts them should itself be enlightened, and guide them by authority to years of maturity. Thus it is that barbarous nations are naturally subject to the oppressive yoke of despotic power, till in the advanced state of society their interests teach them to conduct themselves.

CIVILIZED nations, like young men, more or less advanced not in proportion to their abilities, but from the conduct of their early education, as soon as they become sensible of their own strength, and right, require to be managed and even attended to by their governors. A son well educated should engage in no undertaking without consulting his father: a prince on the contrary, should make no regulations without consulting his people: further, the son, in resolutions where he follows the advice of his father, frequently hazards nothing

B O O K but his own happiness ; in all that a prince or-  
 XVIII. dains, the happiness of his people is concerned.

— The opinion of the public, in a nation that thinks and speaks, is the rule of the government : and the prince should never thwart that opinion without public reasons, nor oppose it without having first convinced the people of their error. Government is to model all its forms according to public opinion : this it is well known, varies with manners, habits, and information. So that one prince may without finding the least resistance do an act of authority, not to be revived by his successor, without exciting the public indignation. From whence does this difference arise ? The first cannot have thwarted an opinion that was not sprung up in his time, but the latter may have openly counteracted it a century after. The first, if I may be allowed the expression, may, without the knowledge of the public, have taken a step the violence of which he may have softened or made amends for by the happy success of his government ; the other, shall, perhaps, have increased the public calamities by such unjust acts of wilful authority, as may perpetuate its first abuses. Public remonstrance is generally the result of opinion : and the general opinion is the rule of government : and because public opinion governs mankind, kings for this reason become the rulers of men. Governments then as well as opinions ought to improve and advance to perfection. But what is the rule for opinions among an enlightened



ened people? It is the permanent interest of so-BOOK  
ciety, the safety and advantage of the nation. XVIII.  
This interest is modified by the turn of events and }  
situations ; public opinion and the form of the go-  
vernment follow these several modifications. This  
is the source of all the forms of government, esta-  
blished by the English, who are rational and free,  
throughout North America.

THE government of Nova Scotia, of one of the  
provinces in New England, New York, New Jer-  
sey, Virginia, the two Carolinas and Georgia is  
stiled royal ; because the king of England is there  
vested with the supreme authority. Representa-  
tives of the people form a lower house, as in the  
mother country : a select council, approved by  
the king, intended to support the prerogatives of  
the crown, represents the house of peers, and  
maintains that representation by the fortune and  
rank of the most distinguished persons in the  
country, who are members of it. A governor  
convenes, prorogues, and dissolves their assem-  
blies ; gives or refuses assent to their deliberations,  
which receive from his approbation the force of  
law, till the king, to whom they are transmitted,  
has rejected them.

THE second kind of government which takes  
place in the colonies, is known by the name of  
proprietary government. When the English first  
settled in those distant regions, a rapacious and  
active court favourite easily obtained in those  
wastes, which were as large as kingdoms, a pro-

B O O K  
 XVIII. perty and authority without bounds. A bow and a few skins, the only homage exacted by the crown, purchased for a man in power the right of sovereignty, or governing as he pleased in an unknown country: such was the origin of government, in the greater part of the colonies. At present, Maryland and Pennsylvania are the only provinces under this singular form of government; or rather this irregular foundation of sovereignty. Maryland, indeed, differs from the rest of the provinces only by receiving its governor from the family of Baltimore, whose nomination is to be approved by the king. In Pennsylvania, the governor named by the proprietary family, and confirmed by the crown, is not supported by a council which gives a kind of superiority, and he is obliged to agree with the commons, in whom is naturally vested all authority.

A third form, stiled by the English, charter government, seems more calculated to produce harmony in the constitution. At present this subsists only in Connecticut and Rhode Island; but it was formerly extended to all the provinces in New-England. It may be considered as a mere democracy. The inhabitants of themselves elect, and depose all their officers, and make whatever laws they think proper, without being obliged to have the assent of the king, or his having any right to annul them.

At length the conquest of Canada, joined to the acquisition of Florida, has given rise to a form of  
 of

of legislation hitherto unknown throughout the B O O K realm of Great Britain. Those provinces have XVIII. been put or left under the yoke of military, and consequently absolute authority. Without any right to assemble in a national body, they receive immediately from the court of London every order of government.

THIS diversity of governments is not the work of the mother country. We do not find in it the traces of a reasonable, uniform and regular legislation. It is chance, climate, the prejudices of the times and of the founders of the colonies that have produced this motley variety of constitutions. It is not the province of men, who are cast by chance upon a desert coast, to constitute legislation.

ALL legislation, in its nature, should aim at the happiness of society. The means by which it is to attain this great end, depend entirely on its natural qualities. Climate, that is to say, the sky and the soil, are the first rule for the legislator. His resources dictate to him his duties. In the first instance, the local position should be consulted. A number of people thrown on a maritime coast, will have laws more or less relative to agriculture or navigation, in proportion to the influence the sea or land may have on the subsistence of the inhabitants who are to people that desert coast. If the new colony is led by the course of some large river far within land, a legislator ought to have regard to the quality of the soil, and the



B O O K degree of its fertility, as well as to the connections  
 XVIII. the colony will have either at home or abroad by  
 the traffic of commodities most conducive to its  
 prosperity.

BUT the wisdom of legislation will chiefly appear in the distribution of property. It is a general rule, which obtains in all countries, that when a colony is founded, an extent of land be given to every person sufficient for the maintenance of a family; more should be given to those who have abilities to make the necessary advances towards improvement; and some should be reserved for posterity, or for additional settlers, with which the colony may in time be augmented.

THE first object of a rising colony is subsistence and population: the next is the prosperity likely to flow from these two sources. To avoid occasions of war, whether offensive or defensive; to turn industry towards those objects which are most advantageous; not to form connections around them, except such as are unavoidable, and may be proportioned to the stability which the colony acquires by the numbers of its inhabitants, and the nature of its resources; to introduce above all things a partial and local spirit in a nation which is going to be established, a spirit of union within, and of peace without; to refer every institution to a distant but fixed point; and to make every occasional law subservient to the settled regulation which alone is to effect an increase of numbers, and to give stability to the settlement: these circumstances

cumstances make no more than the sketch of a le- B O O K  
gislation. XVIII.

THE moral system is to be formed on the nature of the climate ; a large field for population is at first to be laid open by facilitating marriage, which depends upon the facility of procuring subsistence. Sanctity of manners should be established by opinion. In a barbarous island, which is to be stocked with children, no more would be necessary than to leave the principles of truth to unfold themselves with the natural progress of reason. By proper precautions against those idle fears, which proceed from ignorance, the errors of superstition should be removed, till that period when the warmth of the natural passions, fortunately uniting with the rational powers, dissipates every phantom. But when people, already advanced in life, are to be established in a new country, the ability of legislation consists in removing every injurious opinion or habit, which may be cured or corrected. If we wish that these should not be transmitted to posterity, we should attend to the second generation by instituting a general and public education of the children. A prince or legislator should never found a colony, without previously sending thither some proper persons for the education of youth ; that is, some governors rather than teachers : for it is of less moment to teach them what is good, than to guard them from evil. Good education is ineffectual, when the people are already corrupted. The seeds of morality

BOOK XVIII. reality and virtue, sown in the infant state of a generation already vitiated, are annihilated in the early stages of manhood by debauchery, and the contagion of such vices as have already become habitual in society. The best educated young men cannot come into the world without making engagements and forming connections which will wholly influence them during the remainder of their lives. If they marry, follow any profession, or pursuit, they find the seeds of evil and corruption rooted in every condition; a conduct entirely opposite to their principles; example and discourse which disconcerts and combats their best resolutions.

BUT in a rising colony, the influence of the first generation may be corrected by the manners of the succeeding one. The minds of all are prepared for virtue by labour. The necessities of life remove all vices proceeding from want of employment. The overflowing of its population have a natural tendency towards the mother country, where luxury continually invites and seduces the rich and voluptuous planter. A legislator, who intends to refine the constitution and manners of a colony, will meet with every assistance he can require. If he is only possessed of abilities and virtue, the lands and the people he has to manage will suggest to his mind a plan of society, that a writer can only mark out in a vague manner, liable to all the uncertainty of hypotheses that are varied and complicated by an infinity of circumstances too difficult to be foreseen and combined.



BUT the chief basis of a society for cultivation BOOK  
 or commerce, is property. It is the seed of good XVIII.  
 and evil, natural or moral, consequent on the }  
 social state. Every nation seems to be divided in-  
 to two irreconcilable parties. The rich and the  
 poor, the men of property, and the hirelings, that  
 is to say, masters and slaves, form two classes of  
 citizens, unfortunately in opposition to one an-  
 other. In vain have some modern authors wished  
 by sophistry to establish a treaty of peace between  
 these two states. The rich on all occasions are  
 disposed to obtain a great deal from the poor at  
 little expence; and the poor are ever inclined to  
 set too high a value on their labour: while the rich  
 man must always give the law in this too unequal  
 bargain. Hence arises the system of counterpoise  
 established in so many countries. The people have  
 not wished to attack property which they confi-  
 dered as sacred, but they have made attempts to  
 fetter it, and to check its natural tendency to uni-  
 versal power. These counterpoises have almost  
 always been ill applied, as they were but a feeble  
 remedy against the original evil in society. It is  
 then to the repartition of lands that a legislator  
 will turn his principal attention. The more wisely  
 that distribution shall be managed, the more sim-  
 ple, uniform and exact will be those laws of the  
 country which chiefly conduce to the preservation  
 of property.

THE English colonies partake, in this respect,  
 of the radical vice inherent in the ancient constitu-  
 tion

BOOK XVIII. tion of the mother country. As its present government is but a reformation of that feudal system which had oppressed all Europe, it still retains many usages, which being originally nothing more than abuses of servitude, are still more sensibly felt by their contrast with the liberty which the people have recovered. It has, therefore, been found necessary to join the laws which left many rights to the nobility to those which modify, lessen; abrogate or soften the feudal rights. Hence so many laws of exception for one original law; so many of interpretation for one fundamental; so many new laws that are at variance with the old. Hence it is agreed, there is not in the whole world a code so diffuse, so perplexed as that of the civil law of Great Britain. The wisest men of that enlightened nation have often exclaimed against this disorder. They have either not been heard, or the changes which have been produced by their remonstrances, have only served to increase the confusion.

By their dependence and their ignorance the colonies have blindly adopted that deformed and ill-digested code, the burden of which oppressed their ancestors: they have added to that obscure heap of materials by every new law that the times, manners, and place could introduce. From this mixture has resulted a chaos the most difficult to put in order; a collection of contradictions that require much pains to reconcile. Immediately there sprang up a numerous body of lawyers to  
 prey

prey upon the lands and inhabitants of those new B O O K  
settled climates. The fortune and influence they XVIII.  
have acquired in a short time, have brought into  
subjection to their rapaciousness the valuable class  
of citizens employed in agriculture, commerce, in  
all the arts and labours most indispensably neces-  
sary for every society; but almost singularly essen-  
tial to a rising community. To the severe evil of  
chicane, which has fixed itself on the branches, in  
order to seize on the fruit, has succeeded that of  
finance, which destroys the heart and the root of  
the tree.

IN the origin of the colonies, the coin bore the  
same value as in the mother country. The scar-  
city of it soon occasioned a rise of one third. That  
inconvenience was not remedied by the abundance  
of specie which came from the Spanish colonies;  
because it was necessary to transmit that into Eng-  
land in order to pay for the merchandise wanted  
from thence. This was a gulph that absorbed the  
circulation in the colonies. The confusion occa-  
sioned by this continual export furnished a pretence  
for the use of paper currency.

The coin  
current in  
the English  
colonies in  
North  
America.

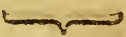
THERE are two sorts of it. The first has in  
view the encouragement of agriculture, trade and  
industry. Every colonist who has more ambition  
than wealth, obtains from the province a paper  
credit, provided he consents to pay an interest of  
5 per cent. furnishes a sufficient mortgage, and  
agrees to repay every year a tenth of the capital  
borrowed. By means of this mark, which is re-  
ceived



B O O K received without dispute into the public treasury, and  
 XVIII. which their fellow-citizens cannot refuse, the busi-  
 ness of private persons is carried on with greater  
 dispatch and ease. The government itself draws  
 considerable advantages from this circulation; be-  
 cause as it receives interest and pays none, it can  
 without the aid of taxes apply this fund to the im-  
 portant object of public utility.

BUT there is another sort of paper, the existence  
 of which is solely owing to the necessities of go-  
 vernment. The several provinces of America had  
 formed projects and contracted engagements be-  
 yond their abilities. They thought to make good  
 the deficiency of their money by credit. Taxes  
 were imposed to liquidate those bills that pressed  
 for payment; but before the taxes had produced  
 that salutary effect, new wants arose that required  
 fresh loans. The debts therefore accumulated, and  
 the taxes were not sufficient to answer them. At  
 length, the amount of the government bills exceeded  
 all bounds after the late hostilities, during which the  
 colonies had raised and provided for 25,000 men,  
 and contributed to all the expences of so long and  
 obstinate a war. The paper thus fell into the utmost  
 disrepute, though it had been introduced by the  
 consent of the several general assemblies, and each  
 province was to be answerable for what was of  
 its own creation.

THE parliament of Great Britain observed this  
 confusion, and attempted to remedy it. They re-  
 gulated the quantity of paper currency each colo-

ny should create for the future, and as far as their BOOK information went, proportioned the quantity of XVIII. it to their riches and resources. This regulation  gave universal disgust, and in the year 1769, it was amended.

PAPER, of the usual figure of the coin, still continues to pass in all kind of business. Each piece is composed of two round leaves, glued to each other, and bearing on each side the stamp that distinguishes them. There are some of every value. In each province besides a public building for the making of them, there are private houses from whence they are distributed: the pieces which are much worn or soiled, are carried to these houses, and fresh ones received in exchange. There never has been an instance of the officers employed in these exchanges having been guilty of the least fraud.

BUT this honesty is not sufficient to insure the prosperity of the colonies. Though for forty years their consumption has increased four times as much as their population, (from whence it is apparent that the abilities of each subject are four times greater than they were) yet one may foretel that these large establishments will never rise to that degree of splendour for which nature designs them, unless the restraints are removed, which confine both their interior industry and their foreign trade.

BOOK

XVIII.

The Eng-  
lish colo-  
nies in  
North A-  
merica are  
shackled in  
their in-  
dustry and  
commerce.

THE first colonists that peopled North America applied themselves solely to agriculture. It was not long before they perceived that their exports did not enable them to buy what they wanted, and they, therefore, found themselves in a manner compelled to set up some rude manufactures. The interests of the mother country seemed to be affected by this innovation; which was made a matter of parliamentary inquiry, and discussed with all the attention it deserved. There were men bold enough to defend the cause of the colonists. They urged, that as the business of tillage did not employ men all the year, it was tyranny to oblige them to waste in idleness the time which the land did not require: that as the produce of agriculture and hunting did not furnish them to the extent of their wants, the preventing them from providing against them by a new species of industry, was in fact reducing them to the greatest distress: in short, that the prohibition of manufactures only tended to enhance the price of all provisions in a rising state, to lessen, or, perhaps, stop the sale of them, and to deter such persons as might intend to settle in it.

THE evidence of these principles was not to be controverted: they were complied with after great debates. The Americans were permitted to manufacture their own cloths themselves, but with such restrictions as betrayed how much avarice regretted, what an appearance of justice could not but allow. All communication from one province to another



another on this account was severely prohibited. B O O K  
 They were forbidden under the heaviest penalties XVIII.  
 to traffic with each other for wool of any sort, raw, or manufactured. However, some manufacturers of hats ventured to break through these restrictions. To put a stop to what was termed a heinous disorderly practice, the parliament had recourse to the mean and cruel expedient of law. A workman was not at liberty to set up for himself till after seven years apprenticeship; a master was not allowed to have more than two apprentices at a time, nor to employ any slave in his workshop.

IRON mines, which seem to put into mens hands the instruments of their own independence, were laid under restrictions still more severe. It was not allowed to carry iron in bars, or rough pieces any where but to the mother country. Without being provided with crucibles to melt it, or machines to bend it, without hammers or anvils to fashion it, they had still less liberty of converting it into steel.

IMPORTATION was subjected to still further restraints. All foreign vessels, unless in evident distress or danger of wreck, or freighted with gold or silver, were not to come into any of the ports of North America. Even English vessels are not admitted there, unless they come immediately from some port of the country. The ships of the colonies going to Europe, are to bring back no merchandise but from the mother country, except

B O O K wine from the Madeiras and the Azores, and salt  
XVIII. for their fisheries.

ALL exportations were originally to terminate in England: but important reasons have determined the government to relax and abate this extreme severity. The colonists are at present allowed to carry directly south of Cape-Finisterre, grain, meal, rice, vegetables, fruit, salt, fish, planks, and timber. All other productions belong exclusively to the mother country. Even Ireland that afforded an advantageous vent for corn, flax, and pipe staves, has been shut against them by an act of parliament of 1766.

THE parliament, which represents the nation, assumes the right of directing commerce in its whole extent throughout the British dominions. It is by this authority it pretends to regulate the connections between the mother country and the colonies, to maintain a communication, an advantageous reciprocal re-action between the scattered parts of the immense empire. There should, in fact, be one power to appeal to, in order to determine finally upon the concerns that may be useful or prejudicial to the general good of the whole society. The parliament is the only body that can assume such an important power. But it ought to employ it to the advantage of every member of society. This is an inviolable maxim, especially in a state where all the powers are formed and directed for the preservation of natural liberty.

THAT principle of impartiality was unattended B O O K  
XVIII.  
 to, which alone can maintain an equal state of independence among the several members of a free government; when the colonies were obliged to vent in the mother country all their productions, even those which were not for its own consumption: when they were obliged to take from the mother country all kinds of merchandise, even those which came from foreign nations. This imperious and useless restraint, loading the sales and purchases of the Americans with unnecessary and ruinous charges, has necessarily lessened their industry, and consequently diminished their profits; and it has been only for the purpose of enriching a few merchants, or some factors at home, that the rights and interests of the colonies have thus been sacrificed. All they owed to England for the protection they received from her, was only a preference in the sale and importation of all such of their commodities as she should consume; and a preference in the purchase and in the exportation of all such merchandise as came from her hands: so far all submission was a return of gratitude; beyond it all obligation was violence.

It is thus that tyranny has given birth to contraband trade. Transgression is the first effect produced by unreasonable laws. In vain has it frequently been repeated to the colonies, that smuggling was contrary to the fundamental interest of their settlements, to all reason of government, and to the express intentions of law. In



BOOK vain has it been continually laid down in public  
 XVIII. writings that the subject who pays duty is op-  
 pressed by him who does not pay it; and that the  
 fraudulent merchant robs the fair trader by disap-  
 pointing him of his lawful profit. In vain have  
 precautions been multiplied for preventing such  
 frauds, and fresh penalties inflicted for the pu-  
 nishment of them. The voice of interest, reason  
 and equity has prevailed over all the numberless  
 clamours and various attempts of finance. Fo-  
 reign importations smuggled into North America,  
 amount to one third of those which pay duty.

AN indefinite liberty, or merely restrained with-  
 in proper limits, will stop the prohibited engage-  
 ments of which so much complaint has been made.  
 Then the colonies will arrive at a state of affluence,  
 which will enable them to discharge a load of debt  
 due to the mother country, amounting, perhaps,  
 to 150 millions\*, and to draw yearly from thence  
 goods to the amount of 108 millions †, agreeable  
 to the calculation of American consumption stated  
 by the parliament of Great Britain in 1766. But  
 instead of this pleasing prospect, which one would  
 imagine must naturally arise from the constitution  
 of the English government, was there any neces-  
 sity by a claim not to be supported among a free  
 people, to introduce into the colonies with the  
 hardships of taxation, the seeds of disorder and  
 discord, and perhaps to kindle a flame which it is  
 not so easy to extinguish as to light up.

ENGLAND:

\* 6,562,500*l*.

† 4,725,000*l*.

ENGLAND had just emerged from a war, which may be called universal, during which her fleets had been victorious in all the seas, and her conquests had enlarged her dominion with an immense territory in the East and West Indies. Such a sudden increase gave her in the eyes of all the world a splendour that must inevitably excite envy and admiration; but within herself she was continually obliged to lament her triumphs. Oppressed with a load of debt to the amount of 3,330,000,000 livres\*, that cost her an interest of 111,577,490 livres† a year, she was with difficulty able to support the current expences of the state, with a revenue of 240,000,000 livres‡; and that revenue was so far from increasing, that it was not even certain it would continue.

B O O K  
XVIII.

The mother country has attempted to establish taxes in the colonies of North America. Whether she had a right to do this?

THE land was charged with a higher tax than it had ever been in time of peace. New duties on houses and windows reduced the value of that kind of property; and an increase of stock on a review of the finances sunk the value of the whole. A terror had been struck even into luxury itself by taxes laid on plate, cards, dice, wines, and brandy. Commerce could not raise any further expectations, since it paid in every port, at every issue, for the merchandise of Asia, for the produce of America, for spices, silks, for every article of export or import, whether manufactured or unwrought. Heavy duties had fortunately re-

B b 3

strained

\* 145,687,500l.

† 4,881,515l. 3s. 9d.

‡ 10,500,000l.

B O O K strained the abuses of spirituous liquors ; but that  
 XVIII. was partly at the expence of the public revenue.

To compensate this loss, one of those expedients was adopted which are always easily found, but dangerous to chuse from the articles of general consumption, and absolute necessity. Duties were laid on the ordinary drink of the common people, on malt, cyder, and beer. Every spring was strained : every power of the body politic had been extended to its utmost stretch. Materials and workmanship had so prodigiously risen in price, that foreigners, whether rivals, or conquered, which before had not been able to support a competition with the English, were enabled to supplant them in every market, even in their own ports. The commercial advantage of Britain with every part of the world could not be valued at more than fifty-six millions of livres\*, and that situation obliged her to draw from the balance 35,100,000 livres †, to pay the arrears of 1,170,000,000 livres ‡ which foreigners had placed in her public funds.

THE crisis was a violent one. It was time to give the people some relief. They could not be eased by a diminution of expences, those being inevitable, either for the purpose of improving the conquests purchased by such a loss of blood and treasure ; or to restrain the resentment of the House of Bourbon, soured by the humiliations of the late war, and the sacrifices of the late peace.

As

\* 2,450,000l.

† 1,535,625l.

‡ 51,187,500l.



As other means did not occur that might secure B O O K  
 the present as well as future prosperity of the na- XVIII.  
 tion, it was thought proper to call in the colonies }  
 to the aid of the mother country, by making  
 them bear a part of her burthen. This dtermin-  
 nation seemed to be founded on reasons not to be  
 controverted.

IT is a fundamental principle of all societies and  
 of every age, that the different members which  
 compose a state, ought to contribute towards all  
 its expences in proportion to their respective abi-  
 lities. The security of the American provinces  
 requires that they should furnish such a share of  
 assistance, as may enable the mother country to  
 protect them upon all occasions. It was to de-  
 liver them from the molestations they were ex-  
 posed to, that England had engaged in a war  
 which has multiplied her debts: they ought then  
 to aid her in bearing or lessening the weight of  
 that increase of expence. At present, when they  
 are freed from all apprehension of the attempts of  
 a formidable adversary, which has been fortu-  
 nately removed, can they without injustice refuse  
 their deliverer, when her necessities are pressing,  
 that money which purchased their preservation?  
 Has not that generous state, for a considerable-  
 time, granted encouragement to the improvement  
 of their rich productions? Has it not liberally and  
 gratuitously advanced sums of money to those  
 countries whose lands are yet uncultivated? Do

BOOK not such benefits deserve to meet a return of re-  
XVIII. lief and even of services?

SUCH were the motives that persuaded the British government that they had a right to establish taxation in the colonies. They availed themselves of the event of the late war to assert this claim so dangerous to liberty. For if we attend to it, we shall find that war, whether successful or not, serves always as a pretext for every usurpation of government; as if the chiefs of warring nations rather intended to reduce their subjects to more confirmed submission, than to make a conquest over their enemies. The American provinces were therefore ordered to furnish the troops sent by the mother country for their security with a part of the necessaries requisite for an army. The apprehension of disturbing that agreement which is so necessary among ourselves, when surrounded by adversaries from without, induced them to comply with the injunctions of the parliament; but with such prudence as not to speak of an act they could neither reject without occasioning civil dissention, nor recognize without exposing rights too precious to be forfeited. New-York alone ventured to disapprove the orders sent from Europe. Though the transgression was slight, it was punished as a disobedience by a suspension of her privileges.

It was most probable, that this attack made on the liberty of the colony would excite the remonstrances of all the rest. Either through want of  
attention

attention or foresight, none of them complained. B O O K  
 This silence was interpreted to proceed from fear, XVIII.  
 or from voluntary submission. Peace, that should  
 lessen taxes every where, gave birth in the year  
 1764 to that famous stamp-act, which, by laying  
 a duty on all marked paper, at the same time for-  
 bad the use of any other in public writings, whe-  
 ther judicial, or extra-judicial.


ALL the English colonies of the new continent  
 revolted against this innovation, and their discon-  
 tent manifested itself by signal acts. They entered  
 into an agreement or conspiracy, the only one that  
 was perhaps consistent with moderate and civilized  
 people, to forego all manufactures made up in the  
 mother country, till the bill they complained of  
 was repealed. The women, whose weakness was  
 most to be feared, were the first to give up what-  
 ever Europe had before furnished them with,  
 either for parade or convenience. Animated by  
 their example, the men rejected the commodities  
 for which they were indebted to the old world.  
 In the northern countries, they paid as much for  
 the coarse stuffs, made in the country, as for fine  
 cloaths which were brought over the seas. They  
 engaged not to eat lamb, that their flocks might  
 increase, and in time be sufficient for the clothing  
 of all the colonists. In the southern provinces  
 where wool is scarce and of an inferior quality,  
 their dress was to be cotton and flax furnished by  
 their own climate. Agriculture was every where  
 neglected;



BOOK neglected, in order that the people might qualify  
XVIII. themselves for the business of the manufactures.

THIS kind of indirect and passive opposition, which ought to be imitated by all nations who may hereafter be aggrieved by the undue exercise of authority, produced the desired effect. The English manufacturers who had scarce any other vent for their goods than their own colonies, fell into that state of despondency, which is the natural consequence of want of employment: and their complaints which could neither be stifled nor concealed by administration, made an impression which proved favourable to the colonies. The stamp-act was repealed after a violent struggle that lasted two years, and which in an age of fanaticism, would, doubtless, have occasioned a civil war.

BUT the triumph of the colonies did not last long. The parliament had given up the point with the greatest reluctance: and it clearly appeared they had not laid aside their pretensions, when in 1767, they threw the duties which the stamp act would have produced, upon all glass, lead, tea, colours, pasteboard, and stained paper exported from England to America. Even the patriots themselves who seemed most inclined to enlarge the authority of the mother country over the colonies, could not help condemning a tax, which in its consequences must affect the whole nation, by disposing numbers to apply themselves to manufactures, who ought to have been solely devoted

devoted to the improvement of lands. The CO-BOOK  
 lonists have not been the dupes of this, any more XVIII.  
 than of the first innovation. It has in vain been   
 urged that government had the power to impose  
 what duties it thought proper upon exported  
 goods, so long as it did not deprive the colonies  
 of the liberty of manufacturing the articles sub-  
 ject to this new tax. This subterfuge has been  
 considered as an insult with regard to a people  
 who being devoted entirely to agriculture, and  
 confined to trade only with the mother country,  
 could not procure either by their own labour, or  
 by their connections abroad, the necessary articles  
 that were sold them at so high a price. They  
 thought when a tax was to be imposed, it was no-  
 thing more than a nominal distinction, whether it  
 were levied in Europe, or America; and that  
 their liberty was equally infringed by a duty laid  
 upon commodities they really wanted, as by a tax  
 upon stamp paper, which they had been made to  
 consider as a necessary article. These intelligent  
 people saw that government was inclined to de-  
 ceive them, and thought it an indignity to suffer  
 themselves to be the dupes either of force, or of  
 fraud. It appeared to them the surest mark of  
 weakness and degeneracy in the subjects of any  
 nation, to overlook all the artful and violent mea-  
 sures adopted by government to corrupt and en-  
 slave them.

THE dislike they have shewn to these new im-  
 posts, was not founded on the idea of their being  
 exorbitant,

B O O K exorbitant, as they did not amount to more than XVIII. one livre, 8 sols \* for each person : which could give no alarm to a very populous community, whose public expence never exceeded the annual sum of 3,600,000 livres †.

It was not from any apprehension that their fortunes would be affected by it : since the security they derived from the provinces ceded by France in the last war ; the increase of their trade with the savages ; the enlargement of their whale and cod fisheries, together with those of the shark and the seal ; the right of cutting wood in the bay of Campeachy ; the acquisition of several sugar islands ; the opportunities of carrying on a contraband trade with the neighbouring Spanish settlements : all these advantageous circumstances were abundantly sufficient to furnish the small proportion of revenue which government seemed so anxious to raise.

It was not owing to their concern lest the colonies should be drained of the small quantity of specie which continued in circulation. The pay of eight thousand four hundred regular troops, maintained by the mother country in North America, must bring much more coin into the country than the tax could carry out of it.

NEITHER was it an indifference towards the mother country. The colonies, far from being ungrateful, have demonstrated so zealous an attachment to her interests during the last war, that

\* About 1s. 3d.

† 157,500l.



parliament had the equity to order considerable B O O K  
 sums to be remitted to them by way of restitution, XVIII.  
 or indemnification. }

NOR, lastly, was it from ignorance of the obligations that subjects owe to government. Had not even the colonies acknowledged themselves bound to contribute towards the payment of the national debt, though they had, perhaps, been the occasion of contracting the greatest part of it; they knew very well that they were liable to contribute towards the expences of the navy, the maintenance of the African and American settlements; and to all the common expences relative to their own preservation and prosperity, as well as to that of the mother country.

IF the Americans refuse to lend their assistance to Europe, it is because what would have been granted if asked, was exacted from them; and because what was required of them as a matter of obedience, ought to have been raised by voluntary contribution. Their refusal was not the effect of caprice, but of jealousy of their rights, which have been ascertained in some judicious writings, and more particularly in some eloquent letters, from which we shall borrow the principal facts we are going to state on a subject which must be interesting to every nation on the globe.

DURING almost two centuries that have passed since the English established themselves in North America, their country has been harrassed by expensive and bloody wars; thrown into confusion by  
 enter-

**B O O K** enterprising and turbulent parliaments; and go-  
**XVIII.** vernaed by a bold and corrupt ministry, ever ready  
 to raise the power of the crown upon the ruin of  
 all the privileges and rights of the people. But  
 notwithstanding the influence of ambition, avarice,  
 faction, and tyranny, the liberty of the colonies to  
 raise their own taxes for the support of the public  
 revenue hath on all hands been acknowledged and  
 regarded.

THIS privilege so natural and consonant to the  
 fundamental principles of all rational society, was  
 confirmed by a solemn compact. The colonies  
 might appeal to their original charters, which au-  
 thorise them to tax themselves freely and volunta-  
 rily. These acts were, in truth, nothing more  
 than agreements made with the crown; but even  
 supposing the prince had exceeded his authority by  
 making concessions which certainly did not turn to  
 his advantage, long possession tacitly owned and  
 acknowledged by the silence of parliament, must  
 constitute a legal prescription.

THE American provinces have still more au-  
 thentic claims to urge in their favour. They as-  
 sert, that a subject of England, in whatever he-  
 misphere he resides, is not obliged to contribute  
 to the expences of the state without his own con-  
 sent, given either by himself, or his representa-  
 tives. It is in defence of this sacred right, that  
 the nation have so often spilt her blood, dethroned  
 her kings, and either excited or opposed number-  
 less commotions. Will she chuse to dispute with

two millions of her children, an advantage which B O O K  
has cost her so dear, and is, perhaps, the sole foun- XVIII.  
dation of her own independence? }

It is urged against the colonies, that the Roman catholics residing in England are excluded from the right of voting, and that their estates are subjected to a double tax. The colonists ask in reply, why the papists refuse to take the oath of allegiance required by the state? This conduct makes them suspected by government, and the jealousy it excites, authorises that government to treat them with rigour. Why not abjure a religion so contrary to the free constitution of their country, so favourable to the inhuman claims of despotism, and to the attempts of the crown against the rights of the people? Why that blind prepossession in favour of a church which is an enemy to all others? They deserve the penalties which the state that tolerates them imposes upon subjects of intolerant principles. But the inhabitants of the new world would be punished without having offended, if they were not able to become subjects without ceasing to be Americans.

THESE faithful colonies, have likewise been told with some confidence, that there are multitudes of subjects in England who are not represented; because they have not the property required to intitle them to vote at an election for members of parliament. What ground have they to expect any greater privileges than those enjoyed by the subjects of the mother country? The colonies, in  
answer



BOOK answer to this, deny that they wish for superior in-  
XVIII. dulgences; they only want to share them in com-  
mon with their brethren. In Great Britain a person  
who enjoys a freehold of forty shillings a year, is  
consulted in the framing of a tax-bill, and shall  
not the man who possesses an immense tract of land  
in America have the same privilege? No. That  
which is an exception to a law, a deviation from  
the general rule of the mother country ought not  
to become a fundamental point of constitution for  
the colonies. Let the English who wish to deprive  
the provinces in America of the right of taxing  
themselves, suppose for a moment, that the house  
of commons, instead of being chosen by them, is  
an hereditary and established tribunal, or even ar-  
bitrarily appointed by the crown; if this body  
could levy taxes upon the whole nation without  
consulting the public opinion, and the general in-  
clinations of the people, would not the English  
look upon themselves to be as much slaves as any  
other nation? However, even in this case, five  
hundred men, surrounded by seven millions of their  
fellow subjects, might be kept within the bounds  
of moderation, if not by a principle of equity, at  
least, by a well-grounded apprehension of the  
public resentment, which pursues the oppressors  
of their country even beyond the grave. But the  
case of Americans taxed by the great council of  
the mother country would be irremediable. At  
too great distance to be heard, they would be  
oppressed with taxes without regard to their com-  
plaints.

plaints. Even the tyranny exercised towards them B O O K would be varnished over with the glorious appeal- XVIII. } lation of patriotism. Under pretence of relieving the mother country, the colonies would be overburthened with impunity.

WITH this alarming prospect before them, they will never submit to give up the right of taxing themselves. So long as they debate freely on the subject of public revenue, their interests will be attended to; or if their rights should sometimes be violated, they will soon obtain a redress of their grievances. But their remonstrances will no longer have any weight with government, when they are not supported by the right of granting or refusing supplies towards the exigencies of the state. The same power which will have usurped the right of levying taxes will easily usurp the distribution of them. As it dictates what proportion they shall raise, it will likewise dictate how it shall be expended; and the sums apparently designed for their service, will be employed to enslave them. Such has been the progression of empires in all ages. No society ever preserved its liberty, after it had lost the privilege of voting in the confirmation, or establishment of laws, relative to the revenue. A nation must for ever be enslaved, in which no assembly or body of men remains, who have the power to defend its rights against the encroachments of the state by which it is governed.

Whether the colonies should submit to be taxed.

BOOK XVIII. THE provinces in British America have every reason imaginable to dread the loss of their independence. Even their confidence may betray them, and make them fall a sacrifice to the designs of the mother country. They are inhabited by an infinite number of honest and upright people, who have no suspicion that those who hold the reins of empire can be hurried away by unjust and tyrannical passions. They take it for granted that their mother country cherishes those sentiments of maternal tenderness which are so consonant to her true interests, and to the love and veneration which they entertain for her. To the unsuspecting credulity of these honest subjects, who cherish so agreeable a delusion, may be added the acquiescence of those who think it unnecessary to trouble themselves or be disturbed on account of inconsiderable taxes. These indolent men are not sensible that the plan was, at first, to lull their vigilance by imposing a moderate duty; that England only wanted to establish an example of submission, upon which it might ground future pretensions; that if the parliament has been able to raise one guinea, it can raise ten thousand; and that there will be no more reason to limit this right, than there would be justice in acknowledging it at present. But the greatest injury to liberty arises from a set of ambitious men, who pursuing an interest distinct from that of the public and of posterity, are wholly bent on increasing their credit, their rank, and their estates. The British ministry,



stry, from whom they have procured employ-BOOK  
ments, or expect to receive them, finds them al- XVIII.  
ways ready to favour their odious projects, by the  
contagion of their luxury and their vices; by their  
artful insinuations, and the flexibility of their con-  
duct.

LET all true patriots then firmly oppose the  
snares of prejudice, indolence, and seduction; nor  
let them despair of being victorious in a contest  
in which their virtue has engaged them. Attempts  
will, perhaps, be made to shake their fidelity, by  
the plausible proposal of allowing the representa-  
tives of America a seat in parliament, in order to  
regulate, in conjunction with those of the mother  
country, the taxes to be raised by the nation in  
general. Such, indeed, is the extent, populouf-  
ness, wealth, and importance of the colonies, that  
the legislature cannot govern them with wisdom  
and safety without availing itself of the advice and  
information of their representatives. But care  
should be taken not to authorise these deputies to  
decide in matters concerning the fortune and the  
contributions of their constituents. The expos-  
tulations of a few men would be easily overborne  
by the numerous representatives of the mother  
country; and the provinces, whose instruments  
they would be, would, in this confused jumble of  
interests and opinions, be laden with too heavy and  
too unequal a part of the common burthen. Let  
then the right of appointing, proportioning and  
raising the taxes continue to be exclusively vested

B O O K in the provincial assemblies ; who ought to be the  
 XVIII. more jealous of it at the present juncture, as the  
 } power of depriving them of it seems to have  
 gained strength by the conquests made in the last  
 war.

FROM its late acquisitions, the mother country has derived the advantage of extending her fisheries, and strengthening her alliance with the savages. But as if this success was of little importance in her estimation, she persists in declaring, that this increase of territory has answered no end, and produced no effect but to secure the tranquillity of the colonies. The colonies, on the contrary, maintain, that their lands, on which their whole welfare depended, have decreased considerably in their value by this immense extent of territory ; that their population being diminished, or, at least, not increased, their country is the more exposed to invasions ; and that the most northern provinces are rivalled by Canada, and the most southern by Florida. The colonists, who judge of future events by the history of the past, even go so far as to say, that the military government established in the conquered provinces ; the numerous troops maintained, and the forts erected there, may one day contribute to enslave countries, which have hitherto flourished only upon the principles of liberty.

GREAT BRITAIN possesses all the authority over her colonies that she ought to wish for. She has a right to disannul any laws they shall make. The  
 executive

executive power is entirely lodged in the hands of her delegates ; and in all determinations of a civil nature, an appeal lies to her tribunal. She regulates at discretion all commercial connections, which are allowed to be formed and pursued by the colonists. To strain an authority so wisely tempered, would be to plunge a rising continent afresh into that state of confusion from which it had with difficulty emerged in the course of two centuries of incessant labour ; and to reduce the men, who had laboured to clear the ground, to the necessity of taking up arms in the defence of those sacred rights to which they are equally intitled by nature, and the laws of society. Shall the English, who are so passionately fond of liberty, that they have sometimes protected it in regions widely remote in climate and interest, forget those sentiments, which their glory, their virtue, their natural feelings, and their security conspire to render a perpetual obligation ? Shall they so far betray the rights they hold so dear, as to wish to enslave their brethren and their children ? If, however, it should happen that the spirit of faction should devise so fatal a design, and should, in an hour of madness and intoxication, get it patronized by the mother country ; what steps ought the colonies to take to save themselves from a state of the most odious dependence ?

BEFORE they engage in this political revolution, they will recall to memory all the advantages they owe to their country. England has always been

How far  
the colo-  
nies ought  
to carry  
their oppo-  
sition to  
Taxation.



B O O K their barrier against the powerful nations of Eu-  
 XVIII. rope: and served as a guide and moderator to watch  
 over their preservation, and to heal those civil dis-  
 sentions, which jealousy and rivalry too frequent-  
 ly excite between neighbouring plantations in their  
 rising state. It is to the influence of its excellent  
 constitution that they owe the peace and prosperity  
 they enjoy. While the colonies live under so  
 salutary and mild an administration, they will con-  
 tinue to make a rapid progress in the vast field of  
 improvement that opens itself to their view, and  
 which their industry will extend to the remotest  
 deserts.

LET the love of their country, however, be ac-  
 companied with a certain jealousy of their liber-  
 ties; and let their rights be constantly examined  
 into, cleared up and discussed. Let them ever  
 consider those as the best citizens, who are con-  
 stantly calling their attention to these points. This  
 spirit of jealousy is proper in all free states; but  
 it is particularly necessary in complicated govern-  
 ments, where liberty is blended with a certain de-  
 gree of dependence, such as is required in a con-  
 nection between countries separated by an immense  
 ocean. This vigilance will be the surest guardian  
 of the union which ought strongly to cement the  
 mother country and her colonies.

If the ministry which is always composed of am-  
 bitious men, even in a free state, should attempt  
 to increase the power of the crown, or the opu-  
 lence of the mother country at the expence of the

colonies, the colonies ought to resist such an usurping power with unremitting spirit. When any measure of government meets with a warm opposition, it seldom fails to be rectified; while grievances, which are suffered for want of courage to redress them, are constantly succeeded by fresh instances of oppression. Nations, in general, are more apt to feel, than to reflect; and have no other ideas of the legality of a power than the very exercise of that power. Accustomed to obey without examination, they, in general, become familiarized to the hardships of government; and being ignorant of the origin and design of society, do not conceive the idea of setting bounds to authority. In those states especially, where the principles of legislation are confounded with those of religion, as one extravagant opinion opens a door for the reception of a thousand among those who have been once deceived; so the first encroachments of government pave the way for all the rest. He who believes the most, believes the least; and he who can perform the most, performs the least: and from this double abuse of credulity and authority, arise all the absurdities and evils in religion and politics which have been introduced into the world, in order to oppress the human species. The spirit of toleration and of liberty which has hitherto prevailed in the English colonies, has happily preserved them from falling into this extreme of folly and misery. They have too high a sense

BOOK of the dignity of human nature not to resist oppression, though at the hazard of their lives.

A PEOPLE so intelligent do not want to be told that desperate resolutions and violent measures cannot be justifiable, till they have in vain tried every possible method of reconciliation. But at the same time, they know that if they are reduced to the necessity of chusing slavery or war, and taking up arms in defence of their liberty, they ought not to tarnish so glorious a cause with all the horrors and cruelties attendant on sedition: and though resolved not to sheathe the sword till they have recovered their rights, they should make no other use of their victory than to procure the re-establishment of their original state of legal independence.

LET us, however, take care not to confound the resistance which the English colonies ought to make to their mother country, with the fury of a people excited to revolt against their sovereign by a long series of excessive oppression. When the slaves of an arbitrary monarch have once broken their chain, and submitted their fate to the decision of the sword, they are obliged to massacre the tyrant, to exterminate his whole race, and to change the form of that government, under which they have suffered for many ages. If they venture not thus far, they will sooner or later be punished for having wanted courage to complete the whole of their design. The yoke will be imposed upon them with greater severity than ever; and the affected



fectd lenity of their tyrants will only prove a new B O O K  
 snare, in which they will be caught and entangled XVIII.  
 without hope of deliverance. It is the misfortune  
 of factions in an absolute government, that nei-  
 ther prince nor people set any bounds to their re-  
 sentment; because they know none in the exer-  
 cise of their power. But a constitution qualified  
 like that of the English colonies, carries in its  
 principles and the limitation of its power, a re-  
 medy and preservative against the evils of anarchy.  
 When the mother country has removed their com-  
 plaints by reinstating them in their former situati-  
 on, they ought to proceed no further: because  
 such a situation is the happiest that a wise people  
 have a right to aspire to.

THE colonies could not adopt a plan of abso-  
 lute independence, without breaking through the  
 ties of religion, oaths, laws, language, relation,  
 interest, trade and habit which unite them to-  
 gether under the mild authority of the mother  
 country. Is it to be imagined that such a rupture  
 would not affect the principles, the constitution,  
 and even the existence of the colonies? Though  
 they should not proceed to the violence of civil  
 wars, would they easily agree upon a new form  
 of government? If each settlement composed a  
 distinct state, what divisions would ensue! We  
 may judge of the animosities that would arise  
 from their separation by the fate of all communi-  
 ties which nature has made to border on each  
 other. But could it be supposed that so many  
 set-

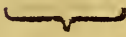
Whether  
 it would be  
 of use to  
 the colo-  
 nies to  
 break thro'  
 the ties  
 which  
 unite them  
 to the  
 mother  
 country.

BOOK settlements, where a diversity of laws, different  
 XVIII. degrees of opulence, and variety of possessions  
 would sow the latent seeds of an opposition of interests, were desirous of forming a confederacy; how would they adjust the rank which each would aspire to hold, and the influence it ought to have in proportion to the risque it incurred, and the forces it supplied? Would not the same spirit of jealousy and a thousand other passions, which in a short time divided the wise states of Greece, raise discord between a multitude of colonies associated rather by the transient and brittle ties of passion and resentment, than by the sober principles of a natural and lasting combination? All these considerations seem to demonstrate, that an eternal separation from the mother country would prove a very great misfortune to the English colonies.

Whether it would be proper for the European nations to endeavour to render the English colonies independent of the mother country.

WE will go one step further, and affirm that were it in the power of the European nations who have possessions in the new world to effect this great revolution, it is not their interest to wish it. This will, perhaps, be thought a paradox by those powers, who see their colonies perpetually threatened with an invasion from their neighbours. They, doubtless, imagine that if the power of the English in America were lessened, they should peaceably enjoy their acquisitions which frequently excite their envy, and invite them to hostilities. It cannot be denied that their influence in these distant regions arises from the extent or

popu-

populousness of their northern provinces: which B O O K enable them always to attack with advantage the XVIII. islands and continental possessions of other nations,  to conquer their territories or ruin their trade. But, after all, this crown has interests in other parts of the globe which may counter-act their progress in America, restrain or retard their enterprises, and frustrate their conquests by the restitutions they will be obliged to make.

WHEN the ties subsisting between old and new Britain are once broken, the northern colonies will have more power when single, than when united with the mother country. This great continent, freed from all connections with Europe, will have the full command of all its motions. It will then become an important, as well as an easy undertaking to them, to invade those territories, whose riches will make amends for the scantiness of their productions. By the independent nature of its situation it will be enabled to get every thing in readiness for an invasion, before any account arrives in Europe. This nation will carry on their military operations with the spirit peculiar to new societies. They may make choice of their enemies, and conquer where and when they please. Their attacks will always be made upon such coasts as are liable to be taken by surprise, and upon those seas that are least guarded by foreign powers: who will find the countries they wished to defend conquered before any succours can arrive. It will be impossible to recover them




B O O K them by treaty, without making great concessions, XVIII. or, when recovered for a time, to prevent their falling again under the same yoke. The colonies belonging to our absolute monarchies, will, perhaps, be inclined to meet a master with open arms, who cannot propose harder terms than their own government imposes; or after the example of the English colonies, will break the chain that rivets them so ignominiously to Europe.

LET no motive by any means prevail upon the nations who are rivals to England, either by insinuations, or by clandestine helps, to hasten a revolution, which would only deliver them from a neighbouring enemy, by giving them a much more formidable one at a distance. Why accelerate an event which must one day naturally take place from the unavoidable concurrence of so many others? For it would be contrary to the nature of things, if the province, subject to the ruling nation, should continue under its dominion, when equal to it in riches, and the number of its inhabitants. Or, indeed, who can tell whether this disunion may not happen sooner? Is it not likely that the distrust and hatred which has of late taken place of that regard and attachment which the provinces formerly felt for the parent country, may conduce to hasten such a separation? Thus every thing conspires to produce this great disruption, the æra of which it is impossible to know. Every thing tends to this point: the progress of  
good

good in the new hemisphere, and the progress of B O O K  
 evil in the old. XVIII.

ALAS! the sudden and rapid decline in our manners and our powers, the crimes of princes, and the sufferings of the people, will make this fatal catastrophe, which is to divide one part of the globe from the other, universal. The foundations of our tottering empires are sapped; materials are hourly collecting and preparing for their destruction, composed of the ruins of our laws, the ferment of contending opinions, and the subversion of our rights, which were the foundation of our courage; the luxury of our courts, and the miseries of the country; the lasting animosity between indolent men who engross all the wealth, and vigorous and even virtuous men, who have nothing to lose but their lives. In proportion as our people are weakened and resign themselves to each other's dominion, population and agriculture will flourish in America: the arts, transplanted by our means, will make a rapid progress: and that country rising out of nothing, will be fired with the ambition of appearing with glory in its turn on the face of the globe, and in the history of the world. O posterity! ye, peradventure, will be more happy than your unfortunate and contemptible ancestors. May this last wish be accomplished, and console the present expiring race with the hopes that a better will succeed to it! But leaving the consideration of future times, let us take a view of the result of three memorable ages. Having seen in the beginning

BOOK XVIII.  ning of this work the state of misery and ignorance in which Europe was plunged in the infancy of America; let us examine to what state the conquest of the new world has led and advanced those who have made it. This was the design of a book undertaken with the hopes of being useful: if the end is answered, the author will have discharged his duty to the age he lives in, and to society.

END OF THE EIGHTEENTH BOOK.



## B O O K XIX.

**I**N the first part of this work we endeavoured to describe the state of commerce in Europe before the discovery of the East and West-Indies. We then proceeded to trace the slow, difficult and tyrannical progress of the settlements formed in those distant regions. Our design will be concluded, if we can now determine the influence which the intercourse established with the new world has had over the morals, government, arts and opinions of the old. Let us begin with religion.

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**RELIGION** in man is the effect of a sense of his misfortunes, and of the fear of invisible powers.

Most legislators have availed themselves of these motives to govern the people, and still more to enslave them. Some of them have asserted that they held the right of commanding from heaven itself, and it is thus that theocracy has been established.

**I**F the religion of the Jews has had a more sublime origin, it has not been always exempt from those inconveniencies which necessarily arise from  
the

B O O K the ambition of priests in a theocratic form of  
 XIX. government.

CHRISTIANITY succeeded the Jewish institution. The subjection that Rome, mistress of the world, was under to the most savage tyrants; the dreadful miseries, which the luxury of a court and the maintenance of armies had occasioned throughout this vast empire under the reign of the Neros; the successive irruptions of the barbarians, who dismembered this great body; the loss of provinces either by revolt or invasion: all these natural evils had already prepared the minds of men for a new religion, and the changes in politics must necessarily have induced an innovation in the form of worship. In paganism, which had existed for so many ages, there remained only the fables to which it owed its origin, the folly or the vices of its gods, the avarice of its priests, and the infamy and licentious conduct of the kings who supported them. Then the people despairing to obtain relief from their tyrants upon earth, had recourse to heaven for protection.

CHRISTIANITY appeared, and afforded them comfort at the same time that it taught them to suffer with patience. While the tyranny and licentiousness of princes, tended to the destruction of paganism as well as to that of the empire; the subjects, who had been oppressed and spoiled, and who had embraced the new doctrines, were completing its ruin by the examples they gave of those virtues, which always accompany the zeal of new-made

made profelytes. But a religion that arose in the B O O K midst of public calamity, must necessarily give its XIX. preachers a considerable influence over the unhappy persons who took refuge in it. Thus the power of the clergy commenced, as it were, with the gospel.

FROM the remains of pagan superstitions and philosophic sects a code of rights and tenets was formed, which the simplicity of the primitive christians sanctified with real and affecting piety; but which at the same time left the seeds of debates and controversies, from whence arose a variety of passions disguised under and dignified with the name of zeal. These dissentions produced schools, doctors, a tribunal, and a hierarchy. Christianity had begun to be preached by a set of fishermen, destitute of every knowledge but that of the gospel; it was entirely established by bishops who formed the church. After this it gained ground by degrees, till at length it attracted the notice of the emperors. Some of these tolerated christianity either from motives of contempt or humanity; others persecuted it. Persecution hastened its progress, for which toleration had paved the way. Connivance and proscription, clemency and rigour were all equally advantageous to it. The sense of freedom so natural to the human mind, induced many persons to embrace it in its infancy, as it has made others reject it since it has been established. This spirit of independence rather adapted to truth than to



B O O K novelty, would necessarily have induced a multi-  
 XIX. tude of persons of all ranks to become converts to  
 } christianity, if even the characters it bore had not  
 been calculated to inspire veneration and respect.

CONSTANTINE, instead of uniting the priesthood to the crown, when he was converted to christianity, as they had been united in the persons of the pagan emperors, granted to the clergy such a share of wealth and authority, and afforded them so many means of future aggrandizement, that these blind concessions produced an ecclesiastical despotism, which in process of time became intolerable.

THIS despotism was carried to its greatest excess, when a part of Europe shook off the yoke. A monk set almost all Germany free from it; a priest one half of France; and a king one half of England for the sake of a woman. In other states, many men who chose to follow their own ideas gave up the tenets of christianity, and the most virtuous among them, preserved only a kind of attachment to the purity of its morals, though they conformed externally to what was enjoined them by the laws of the society in which they lived.

FREEDOM of thought will never become general and popular, unless the magistrate, who is naturally the inspector of every thing that is of such public notoriety as to influence the police, should recover the rights that originally belonged to him. Doctrines either of theory or practice are for this  
 reason

reason subject to the controul of government; B O O K  
 whose power, as well as duty, is however con- XIX.  
 fined to the restraining of what is injurious to the  
 happiness of the community, and to the permit-  
 ting of every thing that does not disturb the peace  
 and union of mankind.

ALL states ought to have nearly the same moral  
 system of religious duties, and leave the rest, not  
 to be disputed between men, because that ought  
 to be prevented whenever public tranquillity is di-  
 sturbed by it, but to the impulse of every man's  
 conscience, thus allowing divines as well as philo-  
 sophers an entire freedom of thinking. This un-  
 limited toleration, with regard to all tenets and  
 opinions that should not affect the moral code of  
 nations, would be the only method of preventing  
 or sapping the foundations of that power, whether  
 spiritual or temporal, which the clergy assume;  
 and which, in process of time, has made them be-  
 come formidable to the state; this is the only way  
 to extinguish insensibly the enthusiasm of the  
 clergy, and the fanaticism of the people.

IT is partly to the discovery of the new world  
 that we shall owe that religious toleration which  
 ought to be, and certainly will be introduced in  
 the old. Persecution would only hasten the down-  
 fall of the religions that are now established. In-  
 dustry and the means of information have now  
 prevailed among the nations, and gained an in-  
 fluence that must restore a certain equilibrium in  
 the moral and civil order of society: the human

BOOK XIX. mind is undeceived with regard to its former superstition. If we do not avail ourselves of the present time to re-establish the empire of reason, it must necessarily be given up to new superstitions.

EVERY thing has concurred for these two last centuries to extinguish that furious zeal which ravaged the globe. The depredations of the Spaniards throughout America, have shewn the world to what excess fanaticism may be carried. In establishing their religion by fire and sword through exhausted and depopulated countries, they have rendered it odious in Europe; and their cruelties have contributed to separate a greater number of catholics from the church of Rome, than they have gained converts to christianity among the Indians. The concourse of persons of all sects in North America has necessarily diffused the spirit of toleration into distant countries, and put a stop to religious wars in our climates. The sending of missionaries has delivered us from those turbulent men, who might have inflamed our country, and who are gone to carry the firebrands and swords of the gospel beyond the seas. Navigation and long voyages have insensibly detached a great number of the people from the absurd ideas which superstition inspires. The variety of religious worships, and the difference of nations, has accustomed the most vulgar minds to a sort of indifference for the object that had the greatest influence over their imaginations. Trade carried on  
between



between persons of the most opposite sects, has lessened that religious hatred which was the cause of their divisions. It has been found that morality and integrity are not inconsistent with any opinions whatever, and that irregularity of manners and avarice are equally prevalent every where; and hence it has been concluded that the manners of men have been regulated by the difference of climate and of government, and by social and national interest.

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SINCE an intercourse has been established between the two hemispheres of this world, our thoughts have been less engaged about that other world, which was the hope of the few, and the torment of the many. The diversity and multiplicity of objects industry hath presented to the mind and to the senses, has divided the attachments of men, and weakened the force of every sentiment. The characters of men have been softened, and the spirit of fanaticism as well as that of chivalry, must necessarily have been extinguished together with all those striking extravagancies which have prevailed among people who were indolent and averse from labour. The same causes that have produced this revolution of manners, have yet had a more sudden influence on the nature of governments.

SOCIETY naturally results from population, and government is a part of the social state. From considering the few wants men have, in proportion to the resources nature affords them; the lit-

Govern-  
ment.

B O O K the assistance and happiness they find in a civilized  
 XIX. state, in comparison of the pains and evils they  
 are exposed to in it; their desire of independence  
 and liberty common to them with all other living  
 beings; together with various other reasons deduced from the constitutions of human nature: from considering all these circumstances, it has been doubted, whether the social state was so natural to mankind as it has generally been thought.

BUT on the other hand, the weakness and long continuance of the infant state of man; the nakedness of his body which has no natural covering, like that of other animals; the tendency of his mind to perfection, the necessary consequence of the length of his life; the fondness of a mother for her child which is increased by cares and fatigues, who after she has carried it in the womb for nine months, suckles and bears it in her arms for whole years; the reciprocal attachment arising from this habitual connection between two beings that relieve and caress each other; the numerous signs of intercourse in an organization, which besides the accents of the voice, common to so many animals, adds also the language of the fingers and of gestures peculiar to the human race; natural events, which in a hundred different ways may bring together, or re-unite wandering and free individuals; accidents and unforeseen wants, which oblige them to meet for the purposes of hunting, fishing, or even of defence; in a word, the example of so many creatures that live collected

lected together in great numbers, such as amphibious animals and sea monsters, flights of cranes and other birds, even insects that are found in columns and in swarms: all these facts and reasons seem to prove, that men are by nature formed for society, and that they are the sooner disposed to enter into it, because they cannot multiply greatly under the torrid zone, unless they are collected into wandering or sedentary tribes; nor can they diffuse themselves much under the other zones, without associating with their fellow-creatures, for the prey and the spoils which the necessities of food and clothing require.

FROM the necessity of association, arises that of establishing laws relative to the social state: that is to say, of forming by a combination of all common and particular instincts, one general combination, that shall maintain the collective body and the majority of individuals. For if nature directs man to his fellow-creature, it is undoubtedly by a consequence of that universal attraction, which tends to the preservation and reproduction of the species. All the propensities which man brings with him into society, and all the impressions he receives in it, ought to be subordinate to this first impulse. To live and to propagate, being the destination of every living species, it should seem that society, if it be one of the first principles of man, should concur in assisting this double end of nature; and that instinct, which leads him to the social state, should neces-



B O O K rarely direct all moral and political laws, so as that  
 . XIX. they should be more durable, and contribute more  
 } to the happiness of the majority of mankind. If,  
 however, we consider merely the effect, we should  
 think that the principle or supreme law of all so-  
 ciety has been *to support the ruling power*. Whence  
 can arise this singular contrast between the end  
 and the means, between the laws of nature and  
 those of politics? The only answer that occurs to  
 this question is; that chance first lays the plan of  
 governments, and reason improves them. Upon  
 this principle, let us examine the nature of the  
 governments that have brought Europe to its pre-  
 sent state of policy.

ALL the foundations of those societies that at present exist are lost by some catastrophe, or natural revolution. In all parts we see men driven away by subterraneous fires, or by war; by inundations, or by devouring insects; by want or famine; and joining again in some uninhabited corner of the earth, or dispersing and spreading themselves in places already peopled. Civilization always begins by plunder, and order arises from anarchy.

THE Hebrews, who were forced by the plagues of Egypt to remove into Arabia Petræa, were, at least, forty years forming themselves into a body of troops, before they proceeded to ravage Palestine, in order to establish themselves there as a nation.

THE states of Greece were founded by plunderers, who destroyed some monsters, and a great number of men in order to become kings. BOOK  
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ROME, it is said, was founded by people who escaped from the flames of Troy, or was only a retreat for some banditti from Greece and Italy: but from this scum of the human race, arose a generation of heroes.

WAR, which, from all the great nations of Europe together, had formed only the Roman empire, made these very Romans who were so numerous, become barbarians again. As the dispositions and manners of the conquering people are generally impressed upon the conquered, those who had been enlightened with the knowledge of Rome at the period when it was distinguished by its learning, now sank again into the blindness of stupid and ferocious Scythians. During the ages of ignorance, when superior strength always gave the law, and chance or hunger had compelled the people of the north to invade the southern countries, the various emigrations prevented laws from being settled in any place. As soon as a multitude of small nations had destroyed a large one, many chiefs or tyrants divided each vast monarchy in several fiefs. The people, who gained no advantage by the government of one, or of several men, were always oppressed and trampled upon from these divisions occasioned by the anarchy of the feudal system. Trifling wars were continually kept up between neighbouring towns, instead of those

BOOK those great wars that now prevail between nations.  
XIX.

THIS continual ferment, however, induced all nations to establish themselves into some regular and consistent form of government. Kings were desirous of raising themselves upon the ruins of those individuals, or of those powerful bodies of men, by whom the commotions were kept up; and to effect this, they had recourse to the assistance of the people. They were civilized, polished, and more rational laws were given them. Slavery had depressed their natural vigour, property restored it; and commerce, which prevailed after the discovery of the new world, increased all their powers, by exciting universal emulation.

THESE changes were attended with a revolution of another kind. The monarchs could not increase their own power, unless they lessened that of the clergy, and encouraged or prepared the way for the discredit of religious opinions. All innovators who ventured to attack the church were supported by the throne. From that time, the human understanding was strengthened by exerting itself against the phantoms of imagination, and recovering the path of nature and of reason; discovered the true principles of government. Luther and Columbus appeared; the whole universe trembled, and all Europe was in commotion: but this storm left its horizon clear for the future. The former awakened the understandings of men, the latter, excited their activity.

Since



Since they have laid open all the avenues of industry B O O K  
and freedom, most of the European nations have XIX.  
attended with some success to the correction or  
improvement of legislation, upon which the fel-  
cidity of mankind entirely depends.

THIS spirit of information and knowledge has not however yet reached the Turks. They have ever preserved a faithful attachment to the maxims of Asiatic despotism. The scimitar, at Constantinople, is still the interpreter of the Coran. Though the Grand Signior may not be seen coming in and going out of the Seraglio, like the tyrant of Morocco, with a bloody head in his hand, yet a numerous body of guards is engaged to execute these horrid murders. The people sometimes massacred by their ruler, at other times assassinate the executioner in their turn; but satisfied with this temporary vengeance, they think not of providing for their future safety, or for the happiness of their posterity. Eastern nations will not be at the trouble of guarding the public safety by laws, which it is a laborious task to form, to settle, and to preserve. If their tyrants carry their oppressions or cruelties too far, the head of the vizir is demanded, that of the despot is struck off, and thus public tranquillity is restored. The janissaries make use of no other remonstrance. Even the most powerful men in the kingdom have not the least idea of the right of nations. As personal safety in Turkey belongs only to people of a mean and abject condition, the chief families  
pride

BOOK XIX. pride themselves in the very danger they are exposed to from the government. A Bashaw will tell you, that a man of his rank, is not destined, like an obscure person, to finish his days quietly in his bed. One may frequently see widows, whose husbands have been just strangled, exulting that they have been destroyed in a manner suitable to their rank.

THE Russians and the Danes do not entertain the same prejudices, though they are subject to a power equally arbitrary; because these nations have the advantage of a more tolerable administration, and of some written laws. They can venture to think, or even to say, that their government is limited; but they have never been able to persuade any sensible man, that it was. While the sovereign makes and annuls the laws, extends or restrains them, and permits or suspends the execution of them at pleasure; while his passions are the only rule of his conduct; while he is the only, the central being to whom every thing tends; while nothing is either just or unjust, but what he makes so; while his caprice is the law, and his favour the standard of public esteem; if this is not a despotic government, what other kind of government can it possibly be?

IN such a state of degradation, what are men? Enslaved as they are they can scarce venture to look up to heaven. They are insensible of their chains, as well as of the shame that attends them. The powers of their minds weakened by the effects

of slavery, have not sufficient force to discover the B O O K  
 rights inseparable from their existence. It may be XIX.  
 a matter of doubt whether these slaves are not as  
 culpable as their tyrants; and whether the spirit  
 of liberty may not have greater reason to com-  
 plain of the arrogance of those who invade her  
 rights, than of the weakness of those, who know  
 not how to defend them.

It has however been frequently asserted that the  
 most happy form of government would be that of  
 a just and enlightened despotic prince. The ab-  
 surdity of this is evident; for it might easily hap-  
 pen that the will of this absolute monarch might  
 be in direct opposition to the will of his subjects.  
 In that case, notwithstanding all his justice and all  
 his abilities, he would deserve censure to deprive  
 them of their rights, even though it were for  
 their own benefit. No man whatsoever is entitled  
 to treat his fellow-creatures like so many beasts.  
 Beasts may be forced to exchange a bad pasture  
 for a better; but to use such compulsion with men  
 would be an act of tyranny. If they should say,  
 that they are very well where they are, or even if  
 they should agree in allowing, that their situation  
 is a bad one, but that it is their will and pleasure  
 to stay in it, we may endeavour to teach them, to  
 undeceive them, and to bring them to juster no-  
 tions by the means of persuasion, but never by  
 those of compulsion. The best of princes, who  
 should even have done good against the general  
 consent of his people, would be culpable, if it  
 were



BOOK XIX. were only because he had gone beyond his right, even with regard to posterity: for though he might be just and enlightened, yet his successor, without inheriting either his abilities or his virtues, will certainly inherit his authority, of which the nation will become the victim. Let not, therefore, these pretended masters of the people be allowed even to do good against the general consent. Let it be considered that the condition of these rulers is exactly the same as that of the cacique, who being asked whether he had any slaves, answered; *Slaves? I know but one slave in all my district, and that is myself.*

SWEDEN is situated between Russia and Denmark. Let us examine the history of its constitution, and endeavour if possible to find out the nature of it.

NATIONS that are poor are almost necessarily warlike; because their very poverty, the burthen of which they constantly feel, inspires them sooner or later with a desire of freeing themselves from it; and this desire, in process of time, becomes the general spirit of the nation, and the spring of the government.

It only requires a succession of sovereigns fortunate in war, to change suddenly the government of such a country from the state of a mild monarchy, to that of the most absolute despotism. The monarch proud of his triumph thinks he will be suffered to do what he pleases, begins to acknowledge

knowledge no law but his will; and his soldiers BOOK  
 whom he hath led so often to victory, ready to XIX.  
 serve him in all things and against all men, become  
 by their attachment to the prince the terror of their  
 fellow-citizens. The people, on the other hand,  
 dare not refuse the chains when offered to them by  
 him, who, to the authority of his rank, joins that  
 which he holds from their admiration and gra-  
 titude.

THE yoke imposed by a monarch who has con-  
 quered the enemies of the state, is certainly bur-  
 thensome; but the subjects dare not shake it off.  
 It even grows heavier under successors, who have  
 not the same claim to the indulgence of the peo-  
 ple. Whenever any considerable reverse of for-  
 tune takes place, the despot will be left to their  
 mercy. Then, the people irritated by their long  
 sufferings, seldom fail to avail themselves of the  
 opportunity of recovering their rights. But as  
 they have neither views nor plans, they quickly  
 pass from slavery to anarchy. In the midst of this  
 general confusion, one exclamation only is heard,  
 and that is, Liberty. But as they know not how  
 to secure to themselves this inestimable benefit, the  
 nation becomes immediately divided into various  
 factions, which are guided by different interests.

IF there be one among these factions, that de-  
 spairs of prevailing over the others, that faction  
 separates itself from the rest unmindful of the ge-  
 neral good: and being more anxious to prejudice  
 its rivals than to serve its country, it sides with the  
 sove-

B O O K sovereign. From that moment there are but two  
 XIX. parties in the state, distinguished by two different  
 names, which, whatever they be, never mean any  
 thing more than royalists and antiroyalists. This  
 is the period of great commotions and conspi-  
 racies.

THE neighbouring powers then act the same  
 part they have ever acted at all times and in all  
 countries upon similar occasions. They foment  
 jealousies between the people and their prince;  
 they suggest to the subjects every possible method  
 of debasing, degrading and annihilating the sove-  
 reignty; they corrupt even those who are nearest  
 the throne; they occasion some form of admini-  
 stration to be adopted prejudicial both to the whole  
 body of the nation, which it impoverishes under  
 pretence of exerting itself for their liberty; and  
 injurious to the sovereign, whose prerogative it re-  
 duces to nothing.

THE monarch then meets with as many autho-  
 rities opposed to his, as there are ranks in the  
 state. His will is then nothing without their con-  
 currence. Assemblies must then be held, propo-  
 sals made, and affairs of the least importance de-  
 bated. Tutors are assigned to him, as to a pupil  
 in his nonage; and those tutors are persons whom  
 he may always expect to find ill-intentioned to-  
 wards him.

BUT what is then the state of the nation? The  
 neighbouring powers have now, by their influence,  
 thrown every thing into confusion; they have over-  
 turned



turned the state, or seduced all the members of B O O K  
 it, by bribery or intrigues. There is now but one XIX.  
 party in the kingdom, and that is the party which  
 espouses the interest of the neighbouring powers.  
 The members of the factions are all pretenders.  
 Attachment to the king is an hypocrisy, and aver-  
 sion for monarchy another. They are two diffe-  
 rent masks to conceal ambition and avarice. The  
 whole nation is now entirely composed of infamous  
 and venal men.

IT is not difficult to conceive what must happen  
 after this. The foreign powers that had corrupted  
 the nation must be deceived in their expectations.  
 They did not perceive that they carried matters  
 too far; that, perhaps, they acted a part quite  
 contrary to that which a deeper policy would have  
 suggested; that they were destroying the power  
 of the nation, while they meant only to restrain  
 that of the sovereign, which might one day exert  
 itself with all its force, and meet with no resistance  
 capable of checking it; and that this unexpected  
 effect might be brought about in an instant, and  
 by one man.

THAT instant is come; that man has appeared:  
 and all these base creatures of adyerse powers  
 prostrated themselves before him. He told these  
 men, who thought themselves all powerful, that  
 they were nothing. He told them, I am your  
 master; and they declared unanimously that he  
 was. He told them, these are the conditions to  
 which I would have you submit; and they answer-

B O O K ed, we agree to them. Scarce one dissenting voice  
 XIX. was heard among them. It is impossible for any  
 } man to know what will be the consequence of this  
 revolution. If the king will avail himself of these  
 circumstances, Sweden will never have been go-  
 verned by a more absolute monarch. If he is pru-  
 dent; if he understands, that an unlimited sove-  
 reign can have no subjects, because he can have no  
 persons under him possessed of property; and that  
 authority can only be exerted over those who have  
 some kind of property; the nation may, perhaps,  
 recover its original character. Whatever may be  
 his designs or his inclinations, Sweden cannot pos-  
 sibly be more unhappy than she was before.

POLAND, which has none but slaves within, and  
 therefore deserves to meet with none but oppressors  
 from without, still preserves, however, the sha-  
 dow and the name of liberty. This kingdom is,  
 at present no better than all the European states  
 were ten centuries ago, subject to a powerful aris-  
 tocracy, which elects a king, in order to make  
 him subservient to its will. Each nobleman, by  
 virtue of his feudal tenure, which he preserves  
 with his sword, as his ancestors acquired it, holds  
 a personal and hereditary authority over his vassals.  
 The feudal government prevails there in all the  
 force of its primitive institution. It is an empire  
 composed of as many states as there are lands.  
 All the laws are settled there, and all resolutions  
 taken, not by the majority, but by the unanimity  
 of the suffrages. Upon false notions of right and  
 per-

perfection, it has been supposed that a law was B O O K  
 only just when it was adopted by unanimous con- XIX.  
 sent; because it has undoubtedly been thought, }  
 that what was right would both be perceived and  
 put in practice by all; two things that are impossi-  
 ble in a national assembly. But can we even as-  
 cribe such pure intentions to a set of tyrants? For  
 this constitution, which boasts the title of a repub-  
 lic and prophanes it, is only a league of petty ty-  
 rants against the people. In this country, every  
 one has the power to restrain, and no one the pow-  
 er to act. Here, the will of each individual may  
 be in opposition to the general one; and here,  
 only, a fool, a wicked man, and a madman is sure  
 to prevail over a whole nation.

AND, indeed, this government has never prof-  
 pered; and Poland, that enjoys the privilege of  
 electing its kings merely from the jealousy of its  
 nobles, has been only indebted to the jealousy  
 of its neighbours, for not having an hereditary  
 despot in the family of a foreign conqueror. It  
 was reserved to our days to see this state torn in  
 pieces by three rival powers, which have appro-  
 priated to themselves such of its provinces as lay  
 most convenient for them. May this crime of  
 ambition turn out to the advantage of mankind;  
 and by a glorious action of benevolence, may the  
 usurpers break the chains of the most laborious  
 part of their new people! Their subjects will be  
 more faithful, by being more free; and being no  
 longer slaves, will become men.



B O O K

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IN a monarchy, the forces and wills of every individual are at the disposal of one single man ; in the government of Germany, each separate state constitutes a body. This is, perhaps, the nation that resembles most what it formerly was. The ancient Germans, divided into colonies by immense forests, had no occasion for a very refined legislation. But in proportion as their descendents have multiplied and come nearer each other, art has kept up in this country what nature had established ; the separation of the people and their political union. The small states that compose this confederate republic, preserve the character of the first families. Each particular government is not always parental, or the rulers of the nations are not always mild and humane. But still reason and liberty, which unites the chiefs to each other, softens the severity of their dispositions, and the rigour of their authority : a prince in Germany cannot be a tyrant with the same security as in large monarchies.

THE Germans, who are rather warriors than a warlike people, because they are rather proficient in the art of war than addicted to it from inclination, have been conquered but once ; and it was Charlemagne who conquered, but could not reduce them to subjection. They obeyed the man, who, by talents superior to the age he lived in, had subdued and enlightened its barbarism ; but they shook off the yoke of his successors. They preserved, however, the title of emperor to their chief ;

chief; but it was merely a name, since, in fact, the power resided almost entirely in the barons that possessed the lands. The people, who in all countries have unfortunately always been enslaved, spoiled, and kept in a state of misery and ignorance, each the effect of the other, reaped no advantage from the legislation. This subverted that social equality which does not tend to reduce all conditions and estates to the same degree, but to a more general diffusion of property; and upon its ruins was formed the feudal government, the characteristic of which is anarchy. Every nobleman lived in a total independence, and each people under the most absolute tyranny. This was the unavoidable consequence of a government, where the crown was elective. In those states where it was hereditary, the people had, at least, a bulwark and a permanent refuge against oppression. The regal authority could not extend itself, without alleviating for some time the fate of the vassals by diminishing the power of the nobles.

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But in Germany, where the nobles take advantage of each interregnum to invade and to restrain the rights of the imperial power, the government could not but degenerate. Superior force decided every dispute between those who could appeal to the sword. Countries and people were only the causes or the objects of war between the proprietors. Crimes were the support of injustice. Rapine, murder, and conflagrations not only became frequent, but even lawful. Superstition, which

B O O K had consecrated tyranny, was compelled to check  
 XIX. its insolence. The church, which afforded an asy-  
 lum to banditti of every kind, settled a truce be-  
 tween them. The protection of saints was im-  
 plored, to escape the fury of the nobles. The  
 ashes of the dead were only sufficient to awe the  
 ferociousness of these people: so alarming are the  
 terrors of the grave, even to men of cruel and  
 savage dispositions.

WHEN the minds of men kept in constant  
 alarm, were disposed to tranquillity through fear;  
 policy, which avails itself equally of reason and  
 the passions, of ignorance and understanding, to  
 rule over mankind, attempted to reform the go-  
 vernment. On the one hand, several inhabitants  
 in the countries were enfranchised; and on the  
 other, exemptions were granted in favour of the  
 cities. A number of men in all parts were made  
 free. The emperors, who to secure their election  
 even among ignorant and ferocious princes, were  
 obliged to discover some abilities and some virtues;  
 prepared the way for the improvement of the le-  
 gislation.

MAXIMILIAN improved the means of happiness  
 which time and particular events had concurred to  
 produce in his age. He put an end to the anarchy  
 of the great. In France and Spain, they had been  
 made subject to regal authority; in Germany, the  
 emperors made them submit to the authority of  
 the laws. For the sake of the public tranquillity,  
 every prince is amenable to justice. It is true, that  
 these



these laws established among princes, who may be B O O K considered as lions, do not save the people, who XIX. may be compared to lambs: they are still at the mercy of their rulers, who are only bound one towards another. But as public tranquillity cannot be violated, nor war commenced, without the prince who is the cause of it being subject to the penalties of a tribunal that is always open, and supported by all the forces of the empire, the people are less exposed to those sudden irruptions, and unforeseen hostilities, which threatening the property of the sovereigns, continually endangered the lives and safety of the subjects. War, which formerly established right, is now subject to conditions that moderate its fury. The claims of humanity are heard even in the midst of carnage. Thus Europe is indebted to Germany for the improvement of the legislation in all states; regularity and forms even in the revenge of nations; a certain equity even in the abuse of power; moderation in the midst of victory; a check to the ambition of all potentates; in short, fresh obstacles to war, and fresh encouragements to peace.

THIS happy constitution of the German empire has improved with the progress of reason ever since the reign of Maximilian. Nevertheless the Germans themselves complain, that although they form a national body, distinguished by the same name, speaking the same language, living under the same chief, enjoying the same privileges, and connected by the same interests, yet their empire

B O O K has not the advantage of that tranquillity, that  
 XIX. power, and consideration it ought to have.

THE causes of this misfortune are obvious. The first is the obscurity of the laws. The writings upon the *jus publicum* of Germany are numberless; and there are but few Germans who are versed in the constitution of their country. All the members of the empire now send their representatives to the national assembly, whereas they formerly sat there themselves. The military turn, which is become universal, has precluded all application to business, suppressed every generous sentiment of patriotism, and all attachment to fellow-citizens. There is not one of the princes, who has not settled his court too magnificently for his income, and who does not authorise the most flagrant oppressions to support this ridiculous pomp. In short, nothing contributes to the decay of the empire, so much as the too extensive dominion of some of its princes. The sovereigns become too powerful, separate their private interests from the general good. This reciprocal disunion among the states, is the reason, that in dangers which are common to all, each province must defend itself. It is obliged to submit to that prince, whosoever he may be, whose power is superior; and thus the Germanic constitution degenerates insensibly into slavery or tyranny.

ENGLAND owes its national character to its natural position, and its government to its national character. It was invited by nature to the sea, to  
 commerce,

commerce, and to liberty. This idol of men of vigorous minds, which renders them ferocious in a savage state, and proud in a civilized one, this spirit of liberty always reigned in the breasts of the English, even when they were ignorant of its rights and advantages.

THIS was the nation, that first discovered the injustice and insignificancy of ecclesiastical power, the limits of regal authority, and the abuses of the feudal government. This was the nation, that was the first to revolt and throw off this triple load of oppression. Untill the reign of Henry the eighth, they had fought only for the choice of their tyrants; but at length, in chusing them, they paved the way for abolishing, punishing, or expelling them.

THE kings of England, however, thought themselves absolute, because all those of the rest of Europe were so. The title of monarch deceived James the first; he annexed unlimited authority to it. He maintained this opinion with so much frankness, such an infatuation, that led him even not to distrust his own pretensions, so far as to make him think it necessary to support them previously by force. His courtiers and his clergy encouraged him in this flattering illusion, which he persevered in to the end. He died full of self-estimation, and despised by his people; who knew the weakness of the monarch, and were sensible of their own strength.



BOOK THE English, to put an end to the spirit of re-  
 XIX. venge and diffidence, which would have been per-  
 } petuated between the king and the people after the  
 } tragical end of Charles the first, chose from a  
 } foreign race a prince who was obliged to accept  
 } of that social compact, of which all hereditary  
 } kings affect to be ignorant. William the third re-  
 } ceived the crown on certain conditions, and con-  
 } tented himself with an authority established upon  
 } the same basis as the rights of the people.

UNDER the reigns of the Stuarts, power and liberty had maintained a perpetual contest for the prerogatives of the crown and the privileges of the people. But since a parliamentary or national title is become the sole right of kings, whatever faction disturbs the people, the force of the constitution prevails always in their favour.

THE government is formed between absolute monarchy, which is tyranny; democracy, which tends to anarchy; and aristocracy, which fluctuating between one and the other, falls into the errors of both. The mixt government of the English, combining the advantages of these three powers, which mutually observe, moderate, assist, and check each other, tends from its very principles to the national good. This constitution, of which there is no instance among the ancients, and which ought to serve as a model to posterity, will support itself a long time; because it is not the result of manners, and of transient opinions; but of reasoning and experience.

YET the people are with reason alarmed about B O O K  
 the duration of so excellent a government. En- XIX.  
 encroachments of the crown are not apprehended. }  
 The share the king holds in the legislation is too trifling, to prevail over the two houses of parliament. His right of refusal or consent is at present a mere matter of form. His greatest strength is in the executive power, which is solely vested in him. But as he hath only the right and exercise of this power, without having the instruments and the means, he cannot avail himself of it. If he were once to abuse it, he would run the risque of losing it for ever. The money that is levied arises from the taxes, and these are imposed by parliament. The people supply the prince with subsidies, and he accounts for the use that is made of them. Hence the parliament, under whose inspection the revenues and the disbursements pass, is the real legislative power. It is the parliament that levies the taxes and determines how they shall be employed. But although the prince is in this respect dependent on the commons, yet he hath still a great ascendancy over them by the power of dispensing favours.

In monarchies kings are bribed; in England, they bribe. A philosophical and political writer, well acquainted with the constitution of his country, asserts, that this bribery is necessary to check the tendency of the government to democracy; and that the people would become too powerful, if the king did not buy off the commons.

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ON the other hand, if the prince were to raise the richer members of the commons to the highest dignities by creating peers at pleasure, he would make the government lean to aristocracy. But as the dignity of the peerage cannot be lavished without degrading it, and that besides, commerce will always keep the wealth of the state in constant circulation, it will scarce happen that riches and dignities will be accumulated and united in a few individuals; for complaints, disturbances, and even seditions will arise for the security of the people before such a misfortune can take place. The interest of the collective body in the house of commons is restrained by the interest of each individual. The king is not rich enough to bribe them all; he cannot openly buy them off without dishonouring them, nor enslave them without irritating the people. There will always be some Demagogues; and the nation stands in need of them to watch, to accuse, and even to keep the parliament in awe.

BUT, if the enjoyments of luxury should happen totally to pervert the morals of the nation; if the love of pleasure should soften the courage of the commanders and officers of the fleets and armies; if the intoxication of temporary successes; if vain ideas of false greatness should excite the nation to enterprizes above their strength; if they should be deceived in the choice of their enemies, or their allies; if they should lose their colonies, either by making them too extensive, or by laying restraints upon



upon them; if their love of patriotism is not ex-BOOK  
 alted to the love of humanity: they will sooner XIX.  
 or later be enslaved, and return to that kind of in-  
 significance from whence they emerged only  
 through torrents of blood, and through the ca-  
 lamities of two ages of fanaticism and war. They  
 will become like other nations whom they despise,  
 and Europe will not be able to shew the universe  
 one nation in which she can venture to pride her-  
 self. Despotism, which always oppresses most  
 heavily minds that are subdued and degraded, will  
 alone rise superior, amidst the ruin of arts, of  
 morals, of reason, and of liberty.

THE history of the united provinces is repléte  
 with very singular events. Their combination  
 arose from despair, and almost all Europe encour-  
 age their establishment. They had but just tri-  
 umphed over the long and powerful efforts of the  
 court of Spain to reduce them to subjection, when  
 they were obliged to try their strength against the  
 people of Britany, and disconcerted the schemes  
 of France. They afterwards gave a king to Eng-  
 land, and deprived Spain of the provinces she pos-  
 sessed in Italy and the Low Countries, to give them  
 to Austria. Since that period, Holland has been  
 disgusted of such a system of politics, as would  
 engage her in war; she attends solely to the pre-  
 servation of her constitution, but perhaps not with  
 sufficient zeal, care, and integrity.

THE constitution of Holland, though previously  
 modelled on a plan that was the result of reflecti-

BOOK on, is not leſs defective than thoſe that have been  
 XIX. formed by chance. The ſeven provinces compoſe  
 a kind of heptarchy, the members of which are too independent of each other. In the republic each province is ſupreme; in the provinces, the cities are not ſubject. Alliances, peace, war, ſubſidies, muſt all have the ſanction of the ſtates-general; nor can theſe do any thing without the conſent of the provincial ſtates, nor theſe without the determination of the cities. The firſt defect in this conſtitution ariſes from the ſovereign power been diffuſed into too many branches; the ſecond from the unanimity of ſuffrages; and the third from the equal number of votes. No regard is paid to the difference of extent and population, the province of Holland having no more votes than that of Over-Yſſel, though it bears twenty times a greater ſhare in the public expences. The ſuffrage of Amſterdam carries no more weight with it than that of the moſt petty town: which is a perpetual ſource of diſcord. If the obſtinacy of one ſingle province breaks the union, there is no legal mediator to reſtore it; for the ſtadtholder cannot be conſidered as ſuch.

THIS magiſtrate, whoſe buſineſs it is to terminate religious diſputes, has on that account a dangerous influence, becauſe he may reciprocally involve affairs of religion and of the ſtate with each other. Authoriſed to determine upon the articles of the treaty of union, whenever there is a ſchiſm or diſiſion about them, the power he has of putting

ting an end to discord makes it easy for him to B O O K  
foment it, and opens a vast field to his ambition. XIX.

THESE fears occasioned the suppression of the stadtholder's power towards the middle of the last century. But those who overthrew this phantom of tyranny, were insensibly proceeding to the establishment of tyranny itself, by changing the democracy into an oligarchy. From that time, the burghers of each town lost the liberties they enjoyed, and the right of electing their magistrates and forming their senate. The burgomasters chose their officers and seized upon the finances, of which they gave no account but to their equals or dependents. The senators arrogated to themselves the right of completing their own body. Thus the magistracy was confined within a few families, who assumed an almost exclusive right of deputation to the states-general. Each province and each town were at the disposal of a small number of citizens, who, dividing the rights and the spoils of the people, had the art of eluding their complaints, or of preventing the effects of any extraordinary discontent.

THESE encroachments occasioned the restoration of the stadtholder's power in the house of Orange, and it has been made hereditary, even to the women. But a stadtholder is only a captain-general. This magistrate, in order to be useful to the republic, ought to have an equal authority over every branch of the state. If he had as much influence in the general assembly, as he has in the  
military



B O O K military council, he would have no other interests  
 XIX. than those of his country ; and would be as indif-  
 ferent to war as peace.

BUT, perhaps, it may be apprehended, that if the civil power should be united to the military force in the stadtholder, he might one day become an instrument of oppression. Rome is always quoted as an example to all our free states, that have no circumstance in common with it. If the dictator became the oppressor of that republic, it was in consequence of its having oppressed all other nations ; it was because its power having been originally founded by war, must necessarily be destroyed by it ; and because a nation, composed of soldiers, could not escape the despotism of a military government. However improbable it may appear, it is yet certain, that the Roman republic submitted to the yoke, because it paid no taxes. The conquered people were the only tributaries to the treasury. The public revenues, therefore, necessarily remaining the same after the revolution as before, property did not appear to be attacked ; and the citizen thought he should be still free enough, while he had the disposal of his own property.

HOLLAND, on the contrary, will maintain its liberty, because it is subject to very considerable taxes. The Dutch cannot preserve their country without considerable expences. The sense of their independence alone excites an industry proportionable to the load of their contributions, and to the  
 patience

patience necessary to support the burthen of them. B O O K  
 If to the enormous expences of the state it were XIX.  
 necessary to add those which the pomp of a court  
 requires; if the prince were to employ in main-  
 taining the agents of tyranny what ought to be  
 bestowed on the foundations of a land obtained as  
 it were from the sea, he would soon drive the peo-  
 ple to despair.

AN inhabitant of Holland, placed upon a  
 mountain, and who observes at a distance the sea  
 rising eighteen or twenty feet above the level of  
 the lands, and dashing its waves against the dikes  
 he has raised, considers within himself, that sooner  
 or later this boisterous element will get the better  
 of him. He disdains so precarious a dwelling,  
 and his house made either of wood or stone at Am-  
 sterдам, is no longer looked upon as such; it is his  
 ship that is his asylum, and by degrees he acquires  
 an indifference and manners conformable to this  
 idea. The water is to him what the vicinity of  
 volcanos is to other people.

IF to these natural causes of the decay of a pa-  
 triotic spirit were joined the loss of liberty, the  
 Dutch would quit a country, that cannot be cul-  
 tivated but by men who are free; and these peo-  
 ple so devoted to trade would carry their spirit of  
 commerce together with their riches to some other  
 part of the globe. Their islands in Asia, their  
 factories in Africa, their colonies in America, and  
 all the ports of Europe would afford them an  
 asylum. What stadtholder, what prince, revered

BOOK by such a people, would wish, or dare to become  
 XIX. their tyrant?

THE French, with a different situation, have a different kind of government, which hath undergone a variety of changes. Ever attached to a king, because their government was founded by a military commander, a warlike disposition preserved them for a long time from political slavery. That natural courage; that abhorrence from all kind of meanness; that frankness which they derived from the Germans, made them believe either that they were free, or that they ought to be so, even under the dominion of kings. Jealous of this idea they entertained of themselves, the nobility, which composed almost all the nation, claimed an independence not only of the monarch, but even of their own body. Each nobleman formed, in the midst of the state, a kind of private republic of his own family and his vassals. France had then a military government, impossible to be defined, something between aristocracy and monarchy, having all the abuses of these two constitutions, without their real advantages. A perpetual contest between the kings and the nobles, an alternate superiority of the power of one single person, or of several; such was the kind of anarchy that lasted, almost without interruption, to the middle of the fifteenth century.

THE character of the French was then changed by a train of events that had altered the form of government. The war, which the English, in



conjunction with, or under the direction of the BOOK Normans, had incessantly carried on against France XIX. for two or three hundred years past, spread a general alarm, and occasioned great ravages. The triumphs of the enemy, the tyranny of the great, all conspired to make that nation wish that the prince might be invested with power sufficient to expel foreigners out of the kingdom, and to keep the nobles in subjection. While princes distinguished by their wisdom and bravery were endeavouring to accomplish this, a new generation arose. Every individual, when the general alarm was past, thought himself happy enough in the privileges that his ancestors had enjoyed. They neglected to trace the source of the power of kings, which was derived from the nation; and Lewis XI. having few obstacles to surmount, became more powerful than his predecessors.

BEFORE his time, the history of France presents us with an account of a variety of states, sometimes divided, and sometimes united. Since that prince's reign, it is the history of a great monarchy. The power of several tyrants is centered in one person. The people are not more free; but the constitution is different. Peace is enjoyed with greater security within, and war carried on with more vigour without.

CIVIL wars, which tend to make a free people become slaves, and to restore liberty to a nation that is already enslaved, have had no other effect in France than that of humbling the great, with-

BOOK XIX. { out exalting the people. The ministers, who will always be the creatures of the prince, while the general sense of the nation has no influence in affairs of government, have sold their fellow-citizens to their master; and as the people, who were possessed of nothing, could not be losers by this servitude, the kings have found it the more easy to carry their designs into execution, especially as they were always concealed under pretence of political advantage and even of self-interest. The jealousy excited by a great inequality of conditions and fortunes, hath favoured every scheme that tended to aggrandize the regal authority. The princes have had the art to engage the attention of the people, sometimes by wars abroad, sometimes by religious disputes at home; to suffer the minds of men to be divided by opinions, and their hearts by different interests; to excite and keep up jealousies between the several ranks of the state; to flatter alternately each party with an appearance of favour, and to satisfy the natural envy of the people by the depression of them all. The multitude, reduced to poverty, and become the objects of contempt, having seen all powerful bodies brought low one after another, have at least loved in their monarch the enemy of their enemies.

THE nation, though by inadvertency it has lost the privilege of governing itself, has not however submitted to all the outrages of despotism. This arises from the loss of its liberty not having been the effect

effect of a tumultuous and sudden revolution, but gradually brought about in a succession of several ages. The national character which hath always influenced the princes as well as the court, if it were only by means of the women, hath established a sort of balance of power: and thus it is that polite manners having tempered the exertion of force, and softened the opposition that might be made to it, have prevented those sudden and violent commotions, from whence results either monarchical tyranny, or popular liberty.

INCONSISTENCE, as natural to the minds of a gay and lively people, as it is to children, hath fortunately prevailed over the systems of some despotic ministers. Kings have been too fond of pleasure, and too conversant with the real source of it, not to be induced frequently to lay aside the iron sceptre which would have terrified the people, and prevented them from indulging in those frivolous amusements to which they were addicted. The spirit of intrigue which hath ever prevailed among them, since the nobles have been invited to court, hath occasioned continual removals of statesmen, and consequently subverted all their projects. As the change in government has been imperceptibly brought about, the subjects have preserved a kind of dignity, which the monarch himself seemed to respect, considering it as the source, or consequence of his own. He has continued the supreme legislator for a long time, without being either willing or able to abuse



BOOK his whole power. Kept in awe by the bare idea  
 XIX. only of the fundamental laws of the nation he go-  
 verned, he has frequently been afraid to act con-  
 trary to the principles of them. He has been sen-  
 sible that the people had rights to oppose to him.  
 In a word, there has been no tyrant, even at a  
 time when there was no liberty.

SUCH, and still more absolute have been the go-  
 vernments of Spain and Portugal, of Naples and  
 Piedmont; and of the several small principalities  
 of Italy. The people of the south, whether from  
 inactivity of mind, or weakness of body, seem to  
 be born for despotism. The Spaniards though  
 they are extremely proud; and the Italians, not-  
 withstanding all the powers of genius they possess,  
 have lost all their privileges and every idea of li-  
 berty. Wherever the monarchy is unlimited, it  
 is impossible to ascertain with any degree of pre-  
 cision what the form of government is, since that  
 varies not only with the character of each sove-  
 reign, but even at every period of the same  
 prince's life. These states have written laws;  
 and customs and societies that enjoy certain pri-  
 vileges: but when the legislator can subvert the laws  
 and tribunals of justice; when his authority is  
 founded only on superior strength, and when he  
 calls upon God with a view to inspire his subjects  
 with fear, instead of imitating him in order to be-  
 come an object of affection; when the original  
 right of society, the unalienable right of property  
 among citizens, when national conventions, and the

the engagements of the prince are in vain appealed B O O K  
 to; in a word, when the government is arbitrary, XIX.  
 there is no longer any state; the nation is no }  
 more than the landed property of one single in-  
 dividual.

IN such countries, no statesmen will ever be formed. Far from its being a duty to be acquainted with public affairs, it is rather criminal and dangerous to have any knowledge of the administration. The favour of the court, the choice of the prince, supply the place of talents. Talents it is true have their use; and are sometimes wanted to serve the designs of others, but are never suffered to command. In these countries, the people submit to the government their superiors impose, if they are only indulged in their natural indolence. There is only one system of legislation in these delightful parts of Europe, that merits our attention; which is the republic of Venice.

A GREAT, magnificent and rich city, impregnable, though without walls or fortifications, rules over seventy-two islands. They are not rocks and mountains raised by time in the midst of a vast sea; but rather a plain parcelled out and cut into channels by the stagnations of a small gulph, upon the slope of a low land. These islands separated by canals, are at present joined by bridges. They have been formed by the ravages of the sea, and the ravages of the war have occasioned them to be peopled towards the middle of the fifth century.

B O O K The inhabitants of Italy flying from Attila sought  
 XIX. an asylum on the sea.

THE Venetian lagunes at first neither made a part of the same city, nor of the same republic. United by one general commercial interest, or rather by the necessity of defending themselves, they were, however, divided into as many separate governments as islands, each subject to its respective tribune.

FROM the plurality of chiefs contentions arose, and the public good was consequently sacrificed. These people, therefore, in order to constitute one body, chose a prince, who under the title of duke or doge, enjoyed for a considerable time all the rights of sovereignty, of which he only now retains the signs. These doges were elected by the people till 1173, when the nobles having seized upon the whole authority of the republic, named its chief.

THE government of Venice would be preferable to every other, if an aristocracy were not, perhaps, the least eligible of any. The several branches of power are divided there among the nobles, and admirably balanced among each other. The great reign there in peace with a kind of equality, as the stars shine in the firmament during the silence of the night. The people view their splendour with satisfaction, and are contented if they can only gain a subsistence, and be indulged in their amusements. The distinction between plebeians and patricians is less odious than  
 in




in any other republic ; because the laws are particularly directed to restrain and awe the ambition of the nobles. Besides, as the prosperity of Venice was founded upon its commerce, the people might bear unconcerned the loss of power, by the hopes of riches, which they might acquire by industry and labour.

THE emulation excited by opulence among this maritime people, enabled them to maintain powerful armies ; and the spirit of patriotism which is natural to republics, supplied them with soldiers. The variety of information resulting from the government of many men, made them excel all other people in politics. They learned the art of forming, and destroying leagues, and of maintaining themselves against the most formidable powers. But since the decay of their commerce hath made them less conversant with other countries, and diminished their internal vigour, the republic of Venice is degenerated and obliged to observe the most timid circumspection. These people have assumed that jealousy and mistrust which is the national character of all Italy, and have carried them much further. With one half of the treasures and care they have employed to maintain that neutrality they have observed for two centuries, they would have freed themselves for ever from the dangers to which their very precautions have exposed them. Their chief confidence is in an inquisitor, who continually watches over the conduct of every individual ready to inflict punishment

BOOK XIX. ment on any one who shall dare to speak well or ill of administration. The censure or approbation of government is one of the greatest crimes. The senator of Venice, concealed behind a grate, says to the subject: *Who art thou, that dar'st to approve our conduct!* A curtain rises, and the poor trembling Venetian beholds a carcase tied to a gallows, and hears a terrible voice that calls out to him from behind the grate: *It is thus we treat those who presume to apologize for us; go home, and be silent.* As the republic of Venice supports itself by its cunning; there is another in Europe which supports itself by its courage: this is the republic of Switzerland.

THE Switzers, known in antiquity by the name of Helvetians, were, as the Gauls and the Britons, only to be subdued by Cæsar, who was the greatest of the Romans, if he had been more attached to his country. They were united to Germany, as a Roman province, under the reign of Honorius. Revolutions which are frequent and easily accomplished in such a country as is the Alps, divided colonies, that were separated by large lakes or great mountains, into several baronies. The most considerable of these, occupied by the house of Austria, in process of time seized upon all the rest. Conquest introduced slavery; oppression excited the people to revolt, and thus liberty arose from an unbounded exertion of tyranny.

THERE are now thirteen cantons of robust peasants, who defend almost all the kings of Europe  
and

and fear none; who are better acquainted with B O O K  
their real interests than any other nation; and XIX.  
who constitute the most sensible people in all mo-   
dern political states. These thirteen cantons com-  
pose among themselves, not a republic as the seven  
provinces of Holland, nor a simple confederacy as  
the Germanic body, but rather a league, a natu-  
ral association of so many independent republics.  
Each canton hath its respective sovereignty, its al-  
liances and its treaties separate. The general diet  
cannot make laws or regulations for either of  
them.

THE three most ancient cantons are immediately  
connected with each of the other twelve. It is  
from this union of convenience not of constitution,  
that if one of the thirteen cantons were attacked,  
all the rest would march to its assistance. But there  
is no common alliance between the whole body  
and each particular canton. Thus the branches of  
a tree are united among themselves without hav-  
ing an immediate connection with the common  
trunk.

THE union of the Switzers was, however, in-  
dissoluble till the beginning of the 16th century;  
when religion, which ought to be the bond of  
peace and charity, disunited them. The reforma-  
tion caused a separation of the Helvetic body, and  
the state was divided by the church. All public  
affairs are transacted in the separate and particular  
diets of the catholic and protestant parties. The  
general diets are assembled only to preserve the  
appearance



B O O K appearance of union. Notwithstanding this source  
 XIX. of discord, Switzerland has enjoyed peace much  
 } more than any state in Europe.

UNDER the Austrian government, oppression and the raising of troops impeded population. After the revolution, there was too great an increase of the number of people in proportion to the barrenness of the land. The Helvetic body could not be enlarged without endangering its safety, unless it made some excursions abroad. The inhabitants of these mountains, as the torrents that pour down from them, were to spread themselves in the plains that border upon the Alps. These people would have destroyed each other, had they remained sequestered among themselves. But ignorance of the arts, the want of materials for manufactures, and the deficiency of money prevented the importation of foreign merchandise, and excluded them from the means of procuring the comforts of life and of encouraging industry. They drew even from their increase of numbers a method of subsisting and acquiring riches, a source and an object of trade.

THE duke of Milan, master of a rich country open on every side to invasion, and not easily defended, was in want of soldiers. The Switzers, who were his most powerful neighbours, must necessarily become his enemies, if they were not his allies, or rather his protectors. A kind of traffic was, therefore, set on foot between these people and the Milanese, in which men were bartered for  
 riches.

riches. The nation engaged troops successively B O O K  
 in the service of France, of the emperor, of the XIX.  
 pope, of the duke of Savoy, and all the poten-  
 tates of Italy. They sold their blood to the most  
 distant powers, and to the nations most in enmity  
 with each other; to Holland, to Spain, and to  
 Portugal; as if these mountains were nothing  
 more than a repository of arms and soldiers, open  
 to every one who wanted to purchase the means  
 of carrying on war.

EACH canton treats with that power which offers  
 the most advantageous terms. The subjects of the  
 country are at liberty to engage in war at a distance,  
 with an allied nation. The Hollander is by the  
 constitution of his country a citizen of the world;  
 the Switzer by the same circumstance a destroyer  
 of Europe. The profits of Holland are in pro-  
 portion to the degree of cultivation, and the con-  
 sumption of merchandise; the prosperity of Swit-  
 zerland increases in proportion to the number of  
 battles that are fought, and the slaughter that at-  
 tends them.

IT is by war, that calamity inseparable from  
 mankind, whether in a state of civilization or not,  
 that the republics of the Helvetic body are obliged  
 to live and subsist. It is by this that they preserve  
 a number of inhabitants within their country pro-  
 portioned to the extent and fertility of their lands,  
 without forcing any of the springs of government,  
 or restraining the inclinations of any individual.  
 It is by the traffic of troops with the powers at war  
 with

BOOK with each other, that Switzerland has not been  
 XIX. under the necessity of sudden emigrations which  
 are the cause of invasions, and of attempting conquests which would have occasioned the loss of its liberty, as it caused the subversion of all the republics of Greece.

IF we now take a review of what has been said, we shall find that all the governments of Europe are comprehended under some of the forms we have been describing, and are differently modelled according to the local situation, the degree of population, the extent of territory, the influence of opinions and occupations, and the external connections and variety of events that act upon the system of the body politic, as the impression of surrounding fluids does upon natural bodies.

WE are not to imagine, as it is often asserted, that all governments nearly resemble each other, and that the only difference between them consists in the character of those who govern. This maxim may, perhaps, be true in absolute governments, among such nations as have no principles of liberty. These take the turn the prince gives them; they are haughty, proud and courageous, under a monarch that is active and fond of glory; indolent and stupid under a superstitious king; full of hopes and fears under a young prince; of weakness and corruption under an old despot; or rather alternately confident and weak under the several ministers who are raised by intrigue. In such states, the people are formed according to the character  
 of



of the administration: but in free states it is just the reverse.

BOOK

XIX.

WHATEVER may be said of the nature and springs of the different systems of government to which men are subject, the art of legislation being that which ought to be the most perfect, is also the most proper to employ men of the first genius. The science of government does not contain abstracted truths, or rather it has not one single principle which does not extend to all the branches of administration.

THE state is a very complicated machine, which cannot be wound up or set in motion without a thorough knowledge of all its component parts. If any one of the parts is too much straitened or relaxed, the whole must be in disorder. Every project that may be beneficial to a certain number of citizens or in critical times, may become fatal to the whole nation, and prejudicial for a long continuance. If we destroy or change the nature of any great body, those convulsive motions which are the effect of political intrigues, will disturb the whole nation, which may, perhaps, feel the effects of them for ages to come. All innovations ought to be brought about insensibly, they should arise from necessity, be the result as it were of the public voice, or at least agree with the general wishes. To abolish old customs, or to introduce new ones on a sudden, tends only to increase that which is bad, and to prevent the effect of that which is good. To act without consulting the will of the generality,

B O O K generality, without collecting as it were the plu-  
 XIX. rality of votes in the public opinion, is to alienate  
 the hearts and minds of men, and to bring every  
 thing into discredit, even what is honest and  
 good.

It would be a desirable thing in Europe, that the sovereigns convinced of the necessity of improving the science of government, should imitate a custom there is established in China. In this empire, the ministers are distinguished into two classes, the *thinkers*, and the *signers*. While the last are employed in the arrangement and dispatch of public affairs, the first attend only to the invention of projects, or to the examination of such as are presented to them. This is the source of all those admirable regulations, which establish at China the most enlightened legislation, by the wisest administration. All Asia is subject to a despotic government; but in Turkey and Persia, it is a despotism that restrains opinion by means of religion; in China, it is the despotism of the laws by the influence of reason. Among the Mohammedians, they believe in the divine authority of the prince; among the Chinese, they believe in natural authority founded upon the law of reason. But in these empires it is conviction that influences the will.

In the happy state of policy and knowledge to which Europe has attained, it is plain that this conviction of the mind, which produces a free easy and general obedience, can proceed from no-  
 thing

thing but a certain evidence of the utility of the B O O K laws. If the governments will not pay *thinkers*, XIX. who may, perhaps, become suspicious or corrupt } as soon as they are mercenary; let them, at least, allow men of superior understandings to watch in some measure over the public good. Every writer of genius is born a magistrate of his country; and he ought to enlighten it as much as it is in his power. His abilities gave him a right to do it. Whether he be an obscure or a distinguished citizen, whatever be his rank or birth, his mind, which is always noble, derives its claims from his talents. His tribunal is the whole nation; his judge is the public, not the despot who does not hear him, nor the minister who will not attend to him.

ALL these truths have, doubtless, their boundaries: but it is always more dangerous to suppress the freedom of thought, than to leave it to its bent or impetuosity. Reason and truth triumph over those daring and violent minds, which are roused only by restraint, and irritated only by persecution. Kings and ministers, love your people; love mankind, and ye will be happy. Ye will have then no reason to fear men of free sentiments or unsatisfied minds, nor the revolt of bad men. The revolt of the heart is much more dangerous; for virtue, when soured and roused into indignation, is guilty of the most desperate acts. Cato and Brutus were both virtuous; they were reduced to



B O O K the necessity of chusing, between two actions of  
 XIX. violence, suicide, or the death of Cæsar.

THE interests of government and those of the nation are the same. Whoever attempts to separate them, is unacquainted with their true nature, and will only injure them.

THERE may sometimes be people dissatisfied under a good government; but where there are many that are unhappy, without any general prosperity, it is then the government is faulty in its nature.

MANKIND are just as we would have them to be; it is the mode of government which gives them a good or an evil propensity.

A STATE ought to have one object only in view; and that is, public felicity. Every state has a particular manner of promoting this end; which may be considered as its spirit, its principle, to which every thing else is subordinate.

A NATION can have no industry for the arts, nor courage for war, without a confidence in and an attachment to the government. But when the principle of fear has controuled every other spring of the soul, a nation then becomes of no consequence, the prince is exposed to a thousand enterprises from without, and a thousand dangers from within. Despised by his neighbours, and abhorred by his subjects, he must be in perpetual fear for the safety of his kingdom, as well as for that of his own life. It is a happiness for a nation, that commerce, arts and sciences should flourish within  
 it.

it. It is even a happiness for those who govern, B O O K  
 when they are not inclined to exert acts of tyrann- XIX.  
 ny. Upright minds are very easily led; but none  
 have a greater aversion for violence and slavery. }  
 Let good monarchs be blessed with enlightened  
 people; and let tyrants have none but brutes to  
 reign over.

MILITARY power is both the cause and the de-  
 struction of despotism; which in its infant state  
 may be compared to a lion that conceals his talons  
 in order to let them grow. In its full vigour, it  
 may be considered as a madman who tears his bo-  
 dy with his arms. In its advanced age, it is like  
 Saturn, who, after having devoured his children,  
 is shamefully mutilated by his own race.

GOVERNMENT may be divided into legislation Policy:  
 and policy. Legislation relates to the internal  
 government of the state, and policy to its exter-  
 nal one.

SAVAGE nations, who are addicted to hunting,  
 have rather a policy than a legislation. Governed  
 among themselves by manners and example, the  
 only conventions or laws they have, are between  
 one nation and another. Treaties of peace or al-  
 liance are their only codes of legislation.

SUCH were nearly the societies of ancient times:  
 Separated by deserts, without any communication  
 of trade or voyages, they had only a present and  
 immediate interest to settle. All their negotiati-  
 ons consisted in putting an end to a war by fixing  
 the boundaries of a state. As it was necessary to

B O O K persuade a nation, and not bribe a court by the  
 XIX. mistresses or favourites of a prince, eloquent men  
 were employed for this purpose, and the names of  
 orator and ambassador were synonymous.

IN the middle ages, when every thing, even justice itself was decided by force; when the Gothic government divided by separate interests all those petty states which owed their existence to its constitution; negotiations had but little influence over a wild and recluse people, who knew no right but that of war, no treaties but for truces, or ransoms.

DURING this long period of ignorance and barbarism, policy was entirely confined to the court of Rome. It had arisen from the artifices which had founded the papal government. As the pontiffs, by the laws of religion and the system of the hierarchy, influenced a very unnumerous clergy, which proselytes extended perpetually in all the christian states, the correspondence kept up with the bishops, established early at Rome a center of communication for all the different churches, or nations. All rights were subordinate to a religion, which exercised an absolute authority over the mind of every individual; it had a share in almost every transaction, either as the motive or the means; and the popes by the Italian agents they had placed in all prelacies of the christian state, were constantly informed of every commotion, and availed themselves of every event. They had the highest concern in this; that of attaining  
 universal



universal monarchy. The barbarism of the times BOOK  
 in which this project was conceived, does not XIX.  
 lessen its greatness and sublimity. How daring }  
 was the attempt, to subdue without troops nations  
 that were always in arms! What art to make even  
 the weaknesses of the clergy respectable and sa-  
 cred! What skill to agitate, to shake thrones one  
 after the other, in order to keep them all in sub-  
 jection! So deep, so extensive a design could only  
 be carried into execution, by being concealed;  
 and, therefore, was inconsistent with an hereditary  
 monarchy; in which the passions of kings and the  
 intrigues of ministers, are the cause of so much  
 instability in affairs. This project, and the ge-  
 neral rule of conduct it requires, could not be  
 formed but in an elective government, in which  
 the chief is always chosen from a body animated  
 with the same spirit, and guided by the same  
 maxims; in which an aristocratic court rather go-  
 verns the prince, than suffers itself to be governed  
 by him.

WHILE Italian policy was engaged in examining  
 all the states of Europe, and availing itself of  
 every opportunity to aggrandize and confirm the  
 power of the church, each sovereign saw with in-  
 difference the revolutions that were taking place  
 without. Most of them were too much engaged  
 in establishing their authority in their own domi-  
 nions, in disputing the branches of power with the  
 several bodies that were in possession of them, or  
 who were striving against the natural bent that mo-  
 narchy

BOOK XIX. narchy has to despotism: they were not sufficiently masters of their own inheritance, to interfere in the disputes of their neighbours.

THE fifteenth century changed the order of things. When the princes had collected their forces, they were inclined to bring them to action, and try their respective strength. Till that time, the nations had only carried on war with each other upon their several frontiers. The season of the campaign was lost in assembling troops, which every baron always raised very slowly. There were then only skirmishes between small parties, not any regular battles between different armies. When a prince either by alliances or inheritance had acquired possessions in different states, the interests were confounded, and contentions arose among the people. It was necessary to send regular troops in the pay of the monarch, to defend at a distance territories that did not belong to the state. The crown of England no longer held provinces in the midst of France; but that of Spain acquired some rights in Germany; and that of France laid some claims in Italy. From that time all Europe was in a perpetual alternative of war and negotiation.

THE ambition, talents, and rivalship of Charles V. and Francis I. gave rise to the present system of modern politics. Before these two kings, France and Spain had disputed the kingdom of Naples, in the name of the houses of Arragon and Anjou. Their dissensions had excited a ferment throughout all

all Italy, and the republic of Venice was the chief B O O K  
 cause of that intestine commotion that was excited XIX.  
 against two foreign powers. The Germans took a }  
 part in these disturbances, either as auxiliaries, or  
 as being interested in them. The emperor and the  
 pope were concerned in them with almost all  
 Christendom. But Francis I. and Charles V. en-  
 gaged in their fate, the views, the anxiety, the  
 destiny of all Europe. All the powers seemed to  
 be divided between two rival houses, in order to  
 weaken alternately the most powerful. Fortune  
 favoured the talents, the force and the artifice of  
 Charles V. More ambitious and less voluptuous  
 than Francis I. his character turned the scale, and  
 Europe for a time inclined to his side, but did not  
 continue always to favour the same interest.

PHILIP II. who had all the spirit of intrigue,  
 but not the military virtues of his father, inherited  
 his projects and ambitious views, and found the  
 times favourable to his aggrandizement. He ex-  
 hausted his kingdom of men and ships, and even  
 of money, though he was in possession of the  
 mines of the new world; and left behind him a  
 more extensive monarchy, but Spain himself in a  
 much weaker state than it had been under his fa-  
 ther.

His son imagined he should again make all Eu-  
 rope dependent by an alliance with that branch  
 of his house which reigned in Germany. Philip  
 II. had through negligence relinquished this poli-  
 tical idea; Philip III. resumed it. But in other



B O O K respects he followed the erroneous, narrow, super-  
 XIX. stitious and pedantic principles of his predecessor.

Within the state, there was much formality, but no order, and no oeconomy. The church was perpetually encroaching upon the state. The inquisition, that horrid monster, which conceals its head in the heavens, and its feet in the infernal regions, struck at the root of population, which at the same time suffered considerably from war and the colonies. Without the state, there were still the same ambitious views, and less skilful measures. Rash and precipitate in his enterprises, slow and obstinate in the execution of them, Philip III. had all those defects which are prejudicial to each other, and occasion every project to miscarry. He destroyed the small degree of life and vigour the monarchy yet retained. Richelieu availed himself of the weakness of Spain, and the foibles of the king whom he ruled over, to fill that period with his intrigues, and cause his name to descend to posterity. Germany and Spain were in some manner connected to each other by the house of Austria: to this league, he opposed that of France with Sweden, to counteract the effect of the former. This system would naturally have taken place in his times, if it had not been the work of his genius. Gustavus Adolphus by his conquests enslaved all the north. All Europe concurred in lowering the pride of the house of Austria; and the peace of the Pyrenees turned the scale against Spain in favour of France.

CHARLES V. had been accused of aiming at BOOK universal monarchy; and Lewis XIV. was taxed XIX. with the same ambition. But neither of them ever conceived so high and so rash a project. They were both of them passionately desirous of extending their empire, by the aggrandizement of their families. This ambition is equally natural to princes of common abilities, who are born without any talents, as it is to monarchs of superior understanding, who have no virtues or moral qualifications. But neither Charles V. nor Lewis XIV. had that kind of spirit of resolution, that impulse of the soul to brave every thing, which constitutes heroic conquerors: they bore no resemblance in any particular to Alexander. Nevertheless useful alarms were taken and spread abroad. Such alarms cannot be too soon conceived, nor too soon diffused, when there arise any powers that are formidable to their neighbours. It is chiefly among nations, and with respect to kings, that fear produces safety.

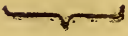
WHEN Lewis the XIV. began to reflect on his own situation, perhaps, he might be surpris'd at seeing himself more powerful than he thought he was. His greatness was partly owing to the little harmony that subsisted between the forces and the designs of his enemies. Europe had, indeed, felt the necessity of a general union, but had not discovered the means of forming it. In treating with this monarch, proud of success, and vain from the applause he had received, it was  
thought

BOOK XIX. thought a considerable advantage if every thing was not given up. In short, the insults of France which increased with her victories; the natural turn of her intrigues to spread dissention every where, in order to reign alone; her contempt for the faith of treaties; the haughty and authoritative tone she usurped, turned the general envy she had excited into detestation, and raised universal alarms. Even those princes, who had seen without umbrage, or favoured the increase of her power, felt the necessity of repairing this error in politics, and of combining and raising among themselves a body of forces superior to those of France, in order to prevent her tyrannizing over the nations.

LEAGUES were, therefore, formed, which were for a long time ineffectual. One man alone was found capable to animate and conduct them. Warmed with that public spirit, which only great and virtuous souls can possess, it was a prince, though born in a republic, who for the general cause of Europe was inflamed with that love of liberty, so natural to upright minds. He turned his ambition towards the greatest object and most worthy of the time in which he lived. His own interest never warped him from that of the public. With a courage peculiar to himself he knew how to defy those very misfortunes which he foresaw; depending less for success upon his military abilities than waiting for a favourable turn of affairs, from his patience and political activity.

Such



Such was the situation of affairs when the suc-BOOK  
cession to the throne of Spain set all Europe in XIX.  
flames. 

SINCE the empire of the Persians and that of the Romans, ambition had never been tempted by so rich a spoil. The prince, who might have united this crown to his own, would naturally have risen to that universal monarchy, the idea of which raised a general alarm. It was, therefore, necessary to prevent this empire from becoming the possession of a power already formidable, and to keep the balance equal between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, which had the only hereditary right to the throne.

MEN well versed in the knowledge of the manners and affairs of Spain, have asserted, if we may believe Bolingbroke, that had it not been for the hostilities, which were then excited by England and Holland, we should have seen Philip the V. as good a Spaniard as his predecessors, and that the French ministry would then have had no influence upon the Spanish administration; but that the war raised against the Spaniards for the sake of giving them a ruler, obliged them to have recourse to the fleets and armies of a state that was alone capable of assisting them in fixing upon such a king as they wanted. This just idea the result of deep reflection has been confirmed by the experience of half a century. The turn of the Spaniards has never been able to coincide with the taste of the French. Spain, from the character of

BOOK her inhabitants seems rather to belong to Africa  
XIX. than to Europe.

THE train of events, however, answered to the general wishes. The armies and the councils of the quadruple alliance, gained an equal superiority over the common enemy. Instead of those languid and unfortunate campaigns which had tried the patience of the prince of Orange, but not discouraged him, all the operations of the confederates were successful. France, in her turn, humbled and defeated on every side, was upon the brink of ruin, when she was restored by the death of the emperor.

It was then perceived, that if the archduke Charles, crowned with the imperial diadem, and succeeding to all the dominions of the house of Austria, should join Spain and the West-Indies to this vast inheritance, he would be in possession of that same exorbitant power, which the house of Bourbon had been deprived of by the war. But, the enemies of France still persisted in their design of dethroning Philip the V. without thinking of the person that was to succeed him; while true politicians, notwithstanding their triumphs, grew tired of a war, the very success of which always became an evil, when it could no longer do any good.

THIS difference of opinions raised dissensions among the allies, which prevented them from reaping all those advantages from the peace of Utrecht, they might reasonably have expected from

from their success. The best means that could be devised to protect the provinces of the allies, was to lay open the frontiers of France. Lewis the XIV. had employed forty years in fortifying them, and his neighbours had suffered him quietly to raise these bulwarks which kept them in continual awe. It was necessary to demolish them: for every strong power that puts itself in a posture of defence, intends to form an attack. Philip remained upon the throne of Spain; and the fortifications were left standing in Flanders, and on the borders of the Rhine.

SINCE this period, no opportunity hath offered, to rectify the mistake committed at the peace of Utrecht. France hath always maintained its superiority on the continent: but chance hath often diminished its influence. The scales of the political balance will never be perfectly even, nor accurate enough to determine the degrees of power with exact precision. Perhaps, even this balance of power may be nothing more than a chimæra. It can be only fixed by treaties, and these have no validity, when they are only made between absolute monarchs, and not between nations. These acts ought to be made by the people themselves, because the object of them is their peace and safety, which are their greatest advantages: but a despot always sacrifices his subjects to his anxiety, and his engagements to his ambition.

BUT it is not war alone that determines the superiority of nations, as it has been hitherto imagined;



BOOK XIX. gined ; since during the last half century commerce hath had a much greater influence in it. While the powers of the continent divided Europe into unequal portions, which policy by means of leagues, treaties, and alliances always preserved in a certain equilibrium ; a maritime people formed as it were a new system, and by its industry made the land subject to the sea ; as nature herself has done by her laws. It formed, or brought to perfection that extensive commerce, which is founded on an excellent system of agriculture, flourishing manufactures, and the richest possessions of the four quarters of the world. This is the kind of universal monarchy that Europe ought to wrest from England, in restoring to each maritime state that freedom, and that power it hath a right to have upon the element that surrounds it. This is a system of public good founded upon natural equity, and in this case justice is the voice of general interest. The people cannot be too much warned to resume all their powers, and to employ the resources offered them by the climate and the the soil they inhabit, to acquire that national and distinct independence in which they were born.

If all Europe were sufficiently enlightened, and each nation were acquainted with its rights and its real advantages, neither the continent, nor the ocean would mutually give laws to each other ; but a reciprocal influence would be established between the continental and maritime people, a balance of industry and power, which would induce

a mutual intercourse for the general benefit. BOOK  
 Each nation would sow and reap upon its proper XIX.  
 element. The several states would enjoy the same  
 liberty of exportation and importation that should  
 subsist between the provinces of the same empire.

THERE is a great error that prevails in modern politics, which is that every state should endeavour to weaken enemies as much as possible. But, no nation can seek the ruin of another state, without paving the way for and hastening its own slavery. There are certainly moments in which fortune at once throws into the way of a people a great increase of power; but such sudden elevations are not lasting. It is oftentimes better to support rivals, than to oppress them. Sparta refused to enslave Athens, and Rome repented of having destroyed Carthage.

THESE noble and generous sentiments which should inspire nations still more than kings, would prevent politicians from the necessity of committing many crimes and asserting many falsehoods; and would remove many impediments and difficulties out of the way of negociators. At present, the complication of affairs hath rendered negociations very intricate. Policy, like that insidious insect that weaves its web in darkness, hath stretched forth its net in the midst of Europe, and fastened it, as it were, to every court. One single thread cannot be touched without drawing all the rest. The most petty sovereign hath some secret interest in the treaties between the greater powers.

BOOK

XIX. Two petty princes of Germany cannot exchange a fief, or a domain, without being thwarted or seconded by the courts of Vienna, Versailles, or London. Negotiations must be carried on in all the cabinets for years together for every the most trifling change in the disposition of the land. The blood of the people is the only thing that is not bargained for. War is determined upon in a day or two; the settling of peace is protracted during several years. This slowness in negotiations, which proceeds from the nature of affairs, is also increased by the character of the negociators.

THESE are generally ignorant persons engaged with men of knowledge and abilities. There are, perhaps, two or three wise and judicious councils in Europe. The rest are in the possession of intriguing men, raised to the management of affairs by the passions and shameful pleasures of a prince and his mistresses. A man is advanced to a share in the administration, without any knowledge of the subject; he adopts the first system that is offered to his caprice; pursues it without understanding it, and with a degree of obstinacy proportionate to his ignorance; he changes the whole plan of his predecessors, in order to introduce his own system of administration, which he will never be able to support. Richelieu's first declaration, when he became minister, was: *the council hath altered its plan*. This saying, which was once found to be a good one, in the mouth of one single man, has, perhaps, been repeated, or thought



thought of, by every one of Richelieu's successors. B O O K  
 All men engaged in public affairs have the vanity, X I X.  
 not only to proportion the parade of their ex-  
 pence, of their manner, and of their air, to the  
 importance of their office; but even to raise the  
 opinion they have of their own understanding, in  
 proportion to the influence of their authority.

WHEN a nation is great and powerful, what  
 should its governors be? The court and the peo-  
 ple will answer this question, but in a very dif-  
 ferent manner. The ministers see nothing in their  
 office but the enlargement of their rights; the  
 people the enlargement only of their duties. The  
 ideas of the latter are just; for the duties and  
 rights arising from each mode of government  
 ought to be regulated by the wants and desires of  
 each nation. But this principle of the law of na-  
 ture is not applicable to the social state. As so-  
 cieties, whatever be their origin, are almost all of  
 them subject to the authority of one single man,  
 political measures are dependent on the character  
 of the prince.

IF the king is a weak and irresolute man, his  
 government will change as his ministers, and his  
 politics will vary with his government. He will  
 alternately have ministers, that are ignorant or en-  
 lightened, steady or fickle, deceitful or sincere,  
 harsh or humane, inclined to war or peace; such,  
 in a word, as the variety of intrigues will produce  
 them. Such a state will have no regular system  
 of politics; and all other governments will not be

B O O K able to maintain any permanent designs and mea-  
 XIX. sures with it. The system of politics must then  
 vary with the day, or the moment; that is, with  
 the humour of the prince.

BUT the fate of nations and political interests are very different in republican governments. As the authority there resides in the collective body of the people, there are certain principles and some public interests attended to in every negotiation. In this case the permanency of a system is not to be confined to the duration of the ministry, or to the life of one single man. The general spirit that exists and perpetuates itself in the nation, is the only rule of every negotiation. Not but that a powerful citizen, or an eloquent demagogue, may sometimes lead a popular government into political mistake; but this is easily recovered. Faults, in these instances, may be considered equally with successes as lessons of instruction. Great events, and not men, produce remarkable periods in the history of republics. It is in vain to attempt to surprize a free people by artifice, or intrigues in a treaty of peace, or alliance. Their maxims will always make them return to their lasting interests, and all engagements will give way to the supreme law. In these governments, it is the safety of the people that does every thing, while in others it is the will of the ruler.

THIS contrast of political principles has rendered every popular government suspicious or odious to all absolute monarchs. They have  
 dreaded

dreaded the influence of a republican spirit upon their own subjects, the weight of whose chains they are every day increasing. A kind of secret conspiracy may therefore be perceived between all monarchies, to destroy, or insensibly to sap the foundations of all free states. But liberty will arise from the midst of oppression. It already exists in every breast; public writings will contribute to instil it into the minds of all enlightened men; and tyranny into the hearts of the people. All men will, at length, be sensible, and this period is at no great distance, that liberty is the first gift of heaven, as it is the first source of virtue. The instruments of despotism will become its destroyers; and the enemies of humanity, those who seem armed at present merely to oppose it, will exert themselves in its defence.

WAR, as well as society, has existed at all times and in all countries; but the art of war is only to be found in certain ages of the world, and among certain people. The Greeks established it, and conquered all the powers of Asia. The Romans improved it and subdued the world. These two nations worthy to command all others, as their genius and virtue were the causes of their prosperity, owed this superiority to their infantry, in which every single man exerts his whole strength. The Grecian phalanx and the Roman legions were every where victorious.

WHEN a superior number of cavalry had been introduced, rather from a principle of indolence



B O O K than inactivity, into the armies of the ancients,  
 XIX. Rome lost some of its glory and success. Notwithstanding the exact discipline of its troops, it could no longer resist those barbarous nations, that fought on foot.


THESE men, however, little better than savages, who, with arms only, and those powers nature had taught them the use of, had subdued the most extensive and the most civilized empire of the universe, soon changed their infantry into cavalry. This was properly called the line of battle, or the army. All the nobility who were the sole possessors of lands and of privileges, those usual attendants of victory, chose to ride on horseback; while the enslaved multitude were left on foot, almost without arms and held in no estimation.

IN times when the gentleman was distinguished by his horse; when the man himself was of little consequence, and every idea of importance was attached to the knight; when wars consisted in small incursions, and campaigns lasted but a day; when success depended upon the quickness of marches: then the fate of armies was determined by cavalry. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there were scarce any other troops in Europe. The dexterity and strength of men was no longer shewn in wrestling, at the cestus, in the exercise of the arms, and of all the muscles of the body; but in tournaments, in managing a horse, and in throwing the lance at full speed. This species

cies of war, better calculated for wandering Tar- B O O K  
 tars, than for fixed and sedentary societies, was one XIX.  
 of the defects of the feudal government. A  
 race of conquerors, whose rights were to be de-  
 termined by their swords; whose merit and glory  
 was in their arms; whose sole occupation was  
 hunting, could hardly avoid riding on horseback,  
 with all that parade and spirit of authority which  
 must necessarily arise from a rude and uncultivated  
 understanding. But what could troops of heavy-  
 armed cavalry avail in the attack and defence of  
 castles and towns, fortified by walls or by surround-  
 ing waters?

To this imperfection of military knowledge,  
 must be ascribed the duration of war for several  
 ages without intermission, between France and  
 England. War continued incessantly for want of  
 a sufficient number of men. Whole months were  
 required to collect, to arm, to bring into the field  
 troops that were only to continue there a few  
 weeks. Kings could not assemble more than a  
 certain number of vassals, and those at stated  
 times. The lords had only a right to call under  
 their banners some of their tenants, upon stipu-  
 lated terms. The time that ought to have been  
 employed in carrying on war, was lost in forms  
 and regulations, in the same manner as courts of  
 justice consume those estates they are to deter-  
 mine. At length the French tired with being  
 constantly obliged to repulse the English, like the  
 horse that implored the assistance of man against

B O O K the itag, suffered the yoke and burthen to be imposed upon them, which they bear to this day.

XIX.  Kings raised and maintained at their own expence a constant body of troops. Charles VII. after having expelled the English by the assistance of mercenary troops, when he disbanded his army, kept nine thousand horse, and sixteen thousand infantry.

THIS was the origin of the abasement of the nobility, and the elevation of monarchy; of the political liberty of the nation without, and its civil slavery within. The people were delivered from feudal tyranny, only to fall some time or other under the despotism of kings. So much does human nature seem born for slavery! It became necessary to raise a fund for the payment of an army; and the taxes were arbitrary, and unlimited as the number of soldiers, that were distributed in the different parts of the kingdom, under a pretence of guarding the frontiers against the enemy; but in reality to restrain and oppress the subject. The officers, commanders and governors were tools of government always armed against the nation itself. They as well as their soldiers no longer considered themselves, as citizens of the state, solely devoted to the defence of the property and rights of the people. They acknowledged no longer any person in the kingdom, except the king, in whose name they were ready to massacre their fathers and brothers. In short,



short, the body of troops raised by the nation was B O O K  
nothing more than a royal army.

XIX.

THE discovery of gunpowder which required considerable expence and great preparation, forges, magazines, and arsenals, made arms more than ever dependent on kings, and determined the advantage that infantry hath over cavalry. The latter presented the flank of the man and horse to the former. A horseman dismounted was either lost or good for nothing; and a horse without a leader occasioned confusion and disorder among the ranks. The havock which the artillery and fire-arms made in squadrons, was more difficult to repair than it was in battalions. In a word, men could be bought and disciplined at a less expence than horses: and this made it easy for kings to procure soldiers.

THUS the innovation of Charles VII. fatal to his subjects, at least in futurity, became from his example prejudicial to the liberty of all the people of Europe. Every nation was obliged to keep itself upon the defence against a nation always in arms. The right system of politics, if there were any politics at a time when arts, literature, and commerce had not yet opened a communication among people, should have been, for the princes to have jointly attacked that particular power that had put itself into a state of continual war. But instead of compelling it to submit to peace, they took up arms themselves. This contagion spread itself the quicker, as it appeared the sole remedy

B O O K against the danger of an invasion, the only guarantee of the security of the nations.

THERE was however a general want of the knowledge necessary to discipline a body of infantry, the importance of which began to be perceived. The manner of fighting which the Switzers had employed against the Burgundians, had rendered them as famous as formidable. With heavy swords and long halberds, they had always overcome the horses and men of the feudal army. As their ranks were impenetrable, and as they marched in close columns, they overthrew all that attacked, and all that opposed them. Every power was then desirous of procuring some Swiss soldiers. But, the Switzers, sensible of the need there was of their assistance, and setting the purchase of it at too a high a rate; it became necessary to resolve not to employ them, and to form in all parts a national infantry, in order not to depend upon these auxiliary troops.

THE Germans first adopted a discipline that required only strength of body, and subordination. As their country abounded in men and horses, they almost rivalled the reputation of the Swiss infantry, without losing the advantage of their own cavalry.

THE French, more lively, adopted with greater difficulty, and more slowly, a kind of military system that laid a restraint upon all their motions, and seemed rather to require perseverance than impetuosity. But the taste for imitation and novelty

velty prevailed among this light people, over that vanity which is fond of its own customs.

B O O K  
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THE Spaniards, notwithstanding the pride they have been reproached with, improved the military art of the Switzers, by bringing to greater perfection the discipline of that warlike people. They formed an infantry which became alternately the terror and admiration of Europe.

IN proportion as the infantry increased, the custom and service of the feudal militia ceased in all parts, and the war became more general. The constitution of each nation had for ages past scarce allowed the different people to wage war and massacre one another beyond the barriers of their own states. War was carried on upon the frontiers only between the neighbouring powers. When France and Spain had carried their arms to the most remote extremities of Italy, it was no longer possible to call together the ban and arriere ban of the nations ; because it was not in fact the people who made war against each other, but the kings with their troops, for the honour of themselves or their families, without any regard to the good of their subjects. Not that the princes did not endeavour to interest the national pride of the people in their quarrels ; but this was done merely to weaken or totally to subdue that spirit of independence which was still struggling among some sets of men, against that absolute authority which the princes had gradually assumed.

ALL



XIX. ALL Europe was in commotion. The Germans marched into Italy; the Italians into Germany; the French into both these countries. The Turks besieged Naples and Nice; and the Spaniards were at the same time dispersed in Africa, in Hungary, in Italy, in Germany, in France, and in the low countries. All these people inured, and practised in arms, acquired great skill in the art of fighting and destroying each other with infallible regularity and precision.

It was religion that caused the Germans to contend with the Germans; the French with the French; but which more particularly excited Flanders against Spain. It was on the fens of Holland that all the rage of a bigotted and despotic king fell; of a superstitious and sanguinary prince; of the two Philips, and of the duke of Alba. It was in the low countries that a republic arose from the persecutions of tyranny, and the flames of the inquisition. When freedom had broken her chains, and found an asylum in the ocean, she raised her bulwarks upon the continent. The Dutch first invented the art of fortifying places: so much doth genius and invention belong to free minds. Their example was generally followed. Extensive states had only occasion to fortify their frontiers. Germany and Italy, divided among a number of princes, were crowded with strong citadels from one end to the other. When we travel through these countries, we meet every

every evening with gates shut and draw-bridges at the entrance of the towns.

B O O K  
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WHILE the Dutch were improving the art of fortification, of the attack and defence of towns, the Swedes were employed in forming, as it were, the military science of the field. Gustavus Adolphus was eminently skilled in the art of war, which other nations have acquired at times, but which the Germans have always preserved, as peculiarly attached to their climate. There are soldiers in other parts, but it is Germany alone that furnishes generals.

THIS art had been in constant use for a century past, when it was remarkably improved by Lewis XIV. He first introduced the custom of wearing a uniform; of carrying the bayonet at the end of the firelock; of making use of the artillery to advantage; in a word, of increasing to the utmost the destructive powers of fire and sword.

THE king of Prussia hath invented a new method of disciplining armies, of leading on troops to battle, and of gaining victories. This prince, who would have been better served by another nation, and certainly better commended than he could possibly be by his own; who hath not had, since Alexander, his equal in history for extent and variety of talents; this prince, who without having been himself formed by Greeks, hath been able to form Lacedemonians; he, in a word, who hath deserved, beyond all others, that his name should be recorded in his age, and rendered equally

BOOK equally great and distinguished as those of the

XIX. most remarkable and brilliant ages of the world :

the king of Prussia, in short, hath totally changed the principles of war, by giving in some measure to the legs an advantage over the arms; that is to say, that by the rapidity of his evolutions and the celerity of his marches, he hath always excelled his enemies, even when he hath not conquered them. All the nations of Europe have been obliged to imitate his example, in order not to be obliged to submit to him. He will enjoy the glory, since it is one, of having raised the art of war to a degree of perfection, from which fortunately it cannot but degenerate.

IT is not to him, but to Lewis XIV. that we must ascribe that prodigious number of troops, which presents us with the idea of a war even in the midst of peace. In imitation of that monarch, who had always a numerous army on foot, all the princes of Europe, whether ruling over large or small states, have maintained bodies of troops, frequently more burthensome to the subject from the expences that attended them, than useful for the defence of the kingdom. Some of the most politic among them have engaged these troops in the pay of greater powers; and thus by a double advantage, they have contrived to raise large sums of money for men whose lives were always sold but never lost.

WHAT reason then have we to exclaim against the barbarous manners that prevailed under the  
feudal



feudal government? War was then to be considered as a time of violence and confusion; but at present it is almost a natural state. Most governments are now military, or become so. Even the improvement in our discipline is a proof of it. The security we enjoy in our fields, the tranquillity that prevails in our cities, whether troops are passing through or are quartered in them; the police which reigns in camps and in garrison towns, proclaim, indeed, that arms are under some kind of controul, but at the same time indicate that every thing is subject to their power.

THOUGH the licentiousness and plunder of the soldier are restrained, the people are obliged to purchase this security at a dear rate, by the levying of taxes and raising of troops. It is not merely by battles that war is fatal. A million of men killed or lost, are a very inconsiderable number out of a hundred million which Europe may, perhaps, contain. But this million comprehends the choicest subjects, the principal part of the youth, the source of population, the life of industry and labour. And in order to support and recruit this million of troops, all the several orders of society must be burthened; which encroaching one upon the other, must necessarily oppress the lowest and the most useful, that of the husbandman. The increase of taxes and the difficulty of collecting them, destroy through want or distress those very

fa-

B O O K families, which are the parents and nurseries of  
 XIX. the manufactures and the armies.

ANOTHER inconvenience arising from the increase of soldiers, is a decrease of natural courage. Few men are born fit for war. If we except Lacedemon and Rome, where women that were free brought forth soldiers; where children were lulled to sleep by, and awakened with the sound of trumpets and songs of war; where education rendered men unnatural, and made them beings of a different species: all other nations have only had a few brave men among them. And, indeed, the less is the number of troops, the better will they be. In the earliar ages of our ancestors, who were less civilized but stronger than we are, armies were much less numerous than ours, but engagements were more decisive. It was necessary to be a noble or a rich man to serve in the army, which was looked upon both as an honour and a privilege. None but volunteers entered into the service. All their engagements ended with the campaign; and any man who disliked the art of war was at liberty to withdraw himself. Besides, there was then more of that spirit, of that greatness of sentiment which constitutes true courage. At present, what glory is there in serving under absolute commanders, who judge of men by their size, estimate them by their pay, enlist them by force or by stratagem, and keep or discharge them at pleasure without their consent, as they have taken them? What honour is there in  
 aspiring

aspiring to the command of armies under the baneful influence of courts, where every thing is given or taken away without reason; where men without merit are raised, and others though innocent are degraded by mere caprice? Therefore, except in rising empires, or in critical times, the greater number there are of soldiers in the state, the more is the nation weakened; and in proportion as a state is enfeebled, the number of its soldiers is increased.

A third inconvenience is, that the increase of soldiers tends to despotism. A number of troops, towns well fortified, magazines and arsenals may prevent invasions; and though they preserve a people from the excursions of a conqueror, they do not secure them from the attempts of a despotic prince. Such a number of soldiers serve only to keep those that are already slaves in chains. The tyrant then prevails, and makes every thing conform to his will, as every thing is subservient to his power. By the force of arms alone, he sets the opinions of men at defiance, and controuls their will. By the assistance of soldiers he levies taxes; and by these he raises soldiers. He imagines that his authority is shewn and exercised, by destroying what he hath formed; but his exertions are vain and fruitless. He is perpetually renewing his forces, without being ever able to recover the national strength. In vain do his soldiers keep his people in continual war; if his subjects tremble at his troops; his troops in return will fly from the enemy.



BOOK enemy. But in these circumstances the loss of a  
 XIX. battle is attended with the loss of a kingdom. The  
 hearts of all being alienated, are impatient of submitting to a foreign yoke; because under the dominion of a conqueror, there is still hope left, under that of a despot, nothing remains but fear. When the progress of the military government hath introduced despotism, then the nation is lost. The soldiery soon becomes insolent and detested. Barrenness occasioned by wretchedness and debauchery, is the cause of the extinction of families. A spirit of discord and hatred prevails among all orders of men, that are either corrupted or disgraced. Societies betray, sell, and plunder each other, and give themselves up one after another to the scourges of the tyrant, who plunders, oppresses, destroys and annihilates them all. Such is the end of that art of war, which paves the way for a military government. Let us now consider what influence the navy has.

Navy.

THE ancients have transmitted to us almost all those arts, that have been revived with the restoration of letters; but we have surpassed them in the military management of the navy. Tyre and Sidon, Carthage and Rome, scarce knew any sea but the Mediterranean; to sail through which it was only necessary to have rafts, galleys, and men to row them. Sea engagements might then be bloody; but it required no great skill to construct and equip the fleets. To pass from Europe into Africa, it was only necessary to be supplied with

with boats, which may be called flat bottom ones, B O O K  
 which transmitted Carthaginians or Romans, the XIX.  
 only people almost who were engaged in sea-fights. }  
 Commerce was fortunately a greater object of at-  
 tention to the Athenians and the republics of Asia  
 than victories at sea.

AFTER these famous nations had abandoned  
 both the land and the sea to plunderers and to pi-  
 rates, the navy remained during twelve centuries  
 equally neglected with all the other arts. Those  
 swarms of barbarians, who over-ran and totally  
 destroyed Rome in its declining state, came from  
 the Baltic, upon rafts or canoes, to ravage and  
 plunder our sea-coasts, without going far from the  
 continent. These were not voyages, but descents  
 upon the coasts that were continually renewed.  
 The Danes and Normans were not armed for a  
 cruize, and scarce knew how to fight but upon land.

AT length, chance or the Chinese supplied the  
 Europeans with the compass, and this was the  
 cause of the discovery of America. The needle,  
 which taught sailors to know how far they were  
 distant from the north, or how near they ap-  
 proached to it, emboldened them to attempt  
 longer voyages, and to lose sight of land for  
 whole months together. Geometry and astrono-  
 my taught them how to compute the progress of  
 the constellations, to determine the longitude by  
 them, and to judge pretty nearly how far they  
 were advancing to the east and west. Even at  
 that time, the height and the distance of vessels

B O O K from the coast might always have been known.

XIX. Though the knowledge of the longitude be much more inaccurate than that of the latitude, yet they both soon occasioned such improvement to be made in navigation, as to give rise to the art of carrying on war by sea. The first essay, however, of this art was made between gallies that were in possession of the Mediterranean. The most celebrated engagement of the modern navy was that of Lepanto, which was fought two centuries ago, between two hundred and five christian, and two hundred and sixty Turkish gallies. This prodigious armament was entirely constructed in Italy; a country from which almost every invention of art has been derived, though not preserved in it. But at that time, its trade, its population were double what they are at present. Besides, those gallies were neither so long nor so large as those of our times, as we may judge from some of the old carcasses that are still preserved in the arsenal of Venice. The number of rowers amounted to one hundred and fifty, and the troops did not exceed fourscore in one galley. At this day Venice has more beautiful gallies and less influence upon that sea which the doge marries, and which other powers frequent and trade upon.

GALLIES, indeed, were proper for criminals; but stronger vessels were required for soldiers. The art of constructing ships improved with that of navigation. Philip II. king of all Spain and of the East and West-Indies, employed all the docks of Spain and



Portugal, of Naples and Sicily, which he then possessed, in constructing ships of an extraordinary size and strength; and his fleet assumed the title of the Invincible Armada. It consisted of one hundred and thirty ships, near one hundred of which were the largest that had yet been seen on the ocean. Twenty small ships followed this fleet, and sailed or fought under its protection. The pride of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century, hath dwelt very much upon and exaggerated the pompous description of this formidable armament. But what spread terror and admiration two centuries ago, would now serve only to excite laughter. The largest of those ships would be no more than a third-rate vessel in our squadrons. They were so heavily armed, and so ill-managed, that they could scarce move, or sail near the wind, nor board another vessel, nor could the ship be properly worked in tempestuous weather. The sailors were as awkward as the ships were heavy, and the pilots almost as ignorant as the sailors.

THE English, who were already acquainted with the weakness and little skill of their enemies at sea, concluded that inexperience would occasion their defeat. They carefully avoided boarding these unwieldy machines, and burned a part of them. Some of these enormous galleons were taken, others disabled. A storm arose, in which most of the ships lost their anchors, and were abandoned by their crews to the fury of the waves, and cast away, some upon the western coasts of Scotland,

B O O K others upon those of Ireland. Scarce one half of  
 XIX. this invincible fleet was able to return to Spain,  
 where the damages it had suffered, joined to the  
 terror of the sailors, spread a general consterna-  
 tion, from which Spain has never recovered. The  
 Spaniards were for ever depressed by the loss of  
 an armament that had cost three years preparation,  
 and upon which all the forces and revenues of the  
 kingdom were almost exhausted.

THE destruction of the Spanish navy occasioned  
 the dominion of the sea to pass into the hands of  
 the Dutch. The pride of their former tyrants  
 could not be more signally punished than by the  
 prosperity of a people, forced by oppression to  
 break the yoke of regal authority. When this re-  
 public began to emerge from its fens, the rest of  
 Europe was embroiled in civil wars by the spirit  
 of fanaticism. Persecution drove men into Hol-  
 land from all other states. The inquisition which  
 the house of Austria wished to extend over all  
 parts of its dominions; the persecution which  
 Henry II. raised in France; the emissaries of Rome,  
 who were supported in England by Mary; every  
 thing, in a word, concurred to people Holland  
 with an immense number of refugees. This coun-  
 try had neither lands, nor harvest for their sub-  
 sistence. They were obliged to seek it by sea  
 throughout the whole universe. Almost all the  
 commerce of Europe was engrossed by Lisbon,  
 Cadiz and Antwerp, under one sovereign, whose  
 power and ambition rendered him a general object  
 of

of hatred and envy. The new republicans having escaped his tyranny, and being excited by resentment and necessity, became pirates, and formed a navy at the expence of the Spaniards and Portuguese, whom they held in utter aversion. France and England, who in the progress of this rising republic, only perceived the humiliation of the house of Austria, assisted Holland in preserving the conquest and spoils she had made, the value of which she was yet unacquainted with. Thus the Dutch secured to themselves establishments wherever they chose to direct their forces; fixed themselves in these acquisitions before the jealousy of other nations could be excited, and imperceptibly made themselves masters of all commerce by their industry, and of all the seas by the strength of their squadrons.

THE domestic contentions in England were for a while favourable to this prosperity, which had been so silently acquired in remote countries. But at length Cromwell excited in his country an emulation for commerce, so natural to the inhabitants of an island. To share the empire of the seas with the Dutch was, in fact, to give up to them; and they were determined to maintain it. Instead of forming an alliance with England, they courageously resolved upon war. They carried it on for a long time with unequal force; and this perseverance against misfortune preserved to them, at least, an honourable rivalship. Superiority in the construction and form of the ships often gave the victory



B O O K to their enemies ; but the vanquished never met  
 XIX. with any decisive losses.

THESE long and dreadful combats, however, had exhausted, or, at least, diminished the strength of the two nations, when Lewis XIV. willing to avail himself of their mutual weakness, aspired to the empire of the sea. When this prince first assumed the reins of government, he found only eight or nine vessels in his harbours, and those very much decayed ; neither were they ships of the first or second rate. Richelieu had perceived the necessity of raising a pier before Rochelle, but not of forming a navy ; the idea of which must, however, have been conceived by Henry IV. and his friend Sully. But it was reserved to the most brilliant age of the French nation to give birth to every improvement at once. Lewis, who perceived, at least, all the ideas of grandeur, he did not himself discover, established a council for the construction of ships in each of the five ports which he opened to the royal or military navy. He formed docks and arsenals ; and in less than twenty years, the French had one hundred ships of the line.

THE French navy first exerted its power against the people of Barbary, who were beaten. It afterwards obtained some advantages over the Spaniards. It then engaged the fleets of England and Holland, sometimes separately, and sometimes combined, and generally obtained the honour and advantage of the victory. The first memorable  
 defeat

defeat the French navy experienced, was in 1692, B O O K  
 when with forty ships, they attacked 90 English XIX.  
 and Dutch ships opposite La Hogue in order to  
 give the English a king they rejected, and who  
 was not himself very desirous of the title. The  
 most numerous fleet obtained the victory. James  
 the second felt an involuntary pleasure at the tri-  
 umph of the people who expelled him; as if at  
 this instant the blind love of his country had pre-  
 vailed within him, over his ambition for the  
 throne. Since that day the naval powers of France  
 have been upon the decline, and have never been  
 re-established.

FROM that period England acquired a supe-  
 riority, which hath raised her to the greatest pro-  
 sperity. A people, who are at present the most  
 considerable power at sea, easily persuade them-  
 selves that they have always held that empire.  
 Sometimes they trace their maritime power to the  
 æra of Julius Cæsar, sometimes they assert that  
 they have ruled over the ocean, at least, since the  
 ninth century. Perhaps, some day or other, the  
 Corsicans who are at present a nation of little con-  
 sequence, when they are become a maritime peo-  
 ple, will record in their annals that they have al-  
 ways ruled over the Mediterranean. Such is the  
 vanity of mankind, they must endeavour to ag-  
 grandize themselves in past as well as future ages.  
 Truth alone, that exists before all nations and sur-  
 vives them all, informs us, that there hath been  
 no navy in Europe from the christian æra till the

BOOK 16th century. The English themselves had no  
 XIX. need of it, while they remained in possession of  
 } Normandy and of the coasts of France.

WHEN Henry VIII, was desirous of equipping a fleet he was obliged to hire vessels from Hamburg, Lubeck, and Dantzic; but especially from Genoa and Venice, who alone knew how to construct and guide a fleet; who supplied all the sailors and admirals; who gave to Europe a Columbus, an Americus, a Cabot, a Verezani, those wonderful men who by their discoveries have added so much to the extent of the globe. Elizabeth wanted a naval force against Spain, and permitted her subjects to arm ships to act against the enemies of the state. This permission formed sailors for the service. The queen herself went to see a ship that had been round the world; on board of which she embraced Drake, at the time she knighted him. She left forty-two men of war to her successors. James the first and Charles the first, added some ships to the naval forces they had received from the throne; but the commanders of this navy were chosen from the nobility, who satisfied with this mark of distinction, left the labours to the pilots; so that the art of navigation received no improvements.

THERE were few noblemen in the party that dethroned the Stuarts. Ships of the line were at that time given to captains of inferior birth, but of uncommon skill in navigation. They improved, and rendered the British navy illustrious.

WHEN



WHEN Charles II. reascended the throne, the B O O K kingdom was possessed of six and fifty ships. The XIX. navy increased under his reign, to the number of eighty-three, fifty-eight of which were ships of the line. Towards the latter days of this prince, it began to decline again. But, his brother, James II. restored it to its former lustre, and raised it even to a greater degree of splendour. Being himself high admiral before he came to the throne, he had invented the art of regulating the manœuvres of the fleet, by the signals of the flag. Happy, if he had better understood the art of governing a free people! When the prince of Orange, his son-in-law, became possessed of his crown, the English navy consisted of one hundred and sixty-three vessels of all sizes, armed with seven thousand pieces of cannon, and equipped with forty-two thousand men. This force was doubled during the war that was carried on for the Spanish succession. It hath since so considerably increased, that the English think they are able alone to balance by their maritime forces the navy of the whole universe. England is now at sea, what Rome formerly was upon land, when she began to decline.

THE English nation considers its navy as the bulwark of its safety, and the source of its riches. On this they found all their hopes in times of peace as well as war. They therefore raise a fleet more willingly, and with greater expedition than

BOOK XIX. than a battallion. They spare no expence and exert every political art to acquire seamen.

REWARDS are first proposed to engage men to enter into the service. The parliament in 1744, decreed, that all prizes taken by a man of war, should belong to the officers and crew of the conquering ship. They likewise granted an additional gratification of five pounds sterling to every Englishman, who in an engagement, should board, take, or sink an enemy's ship. To lucrative motives, the government adds compulsive measures, if they are found necessary. In times of war, they seize upon sailors of the mercantile navy.

NOTHING is apparently so contradictory to national freedom, as these exertions of authority which affect men and commerce at the same time. When compulsive measures are only employed on account of the necessities of the state; they cannot be considered as encroachments upon liberty; because their object is the public safety, and the particular interest even of those who appear to suffer by them; and because the state of society requires, that the will of each individual should be subservient to the will of the whole community. Besides, the sailors receive the same pay from the government, they would have from the merchant, which entirely justifies this compulsive measure; a measure which is always most advantageous to the state. The sailor is no longer at the charge of the public, but while he continues in its service.

The expeditions are by these means carried on B O O K with greater secrecy and dispatch; and the crews XIX. are never idle. In a word, if it were an evil, it is certainly not a greater one than that perpetual slavery, in which all other European sailors are held.

THE navy is a new kind of power, which must change the face of the globe. It hath subverted the ancient idea of the balance of power. Germany, which held this balance between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, hath ceded it to England; which island disposes at present of the continent. As by means of its ships it is in the vicinity of all maritime countries, its power of assisting or doing hurt is extended over a greater number of states. It has, therefore, acquired a greater number of allies, more importance and influence. It is this island whose empire is established over America; because it possesses men and encourages arts in that country instead of being supplied with gold and the materials of luxury. England is of herself, as it were, the lever of the universe. She paves the way for the greatest revolutions; and carries the destiny of nations upon her fleets. She is accused of aspiring to be sole mistress of navigation and trade. This empire which she might, perhaps, obtain for a short time, would occasion her ruin. Universal empire of the seas as well as that of the land, are projects equally absurd.



BOOK

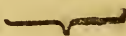
XIX.

FRANCE is continually urging the necessity of establishing an equilibrium of power at sea : but she is suspected of being desirous not to have any masters upon it, in order to have no longer any rivals on the continent. Spain, however, is the only power that has been hitherto persuaded to join her. It is a happy circumstance for Europe that the maritime forces should cause a diversion to those of the land. Any power that has its own coasts to defend, cannot easily overcome the barriers of its neighbours. For this purpose immense preparations are required ; numberless troops ; arsenals of all kinds ; and various means and resources are necessary, to carry into execution projects of conquest. Since navigation hath prevailed in Europe, it enjoys greater security at home, and has obtained a more considerable influence abroad. Its wars are, perhaps, neither less frequent, nor less sanguinary ; but it suffers less ravage, and is less weakened by them. The operations are carried on with greater harmony, and with better connected plans, and there are fewer of those great effects that throw all systems into confusion. There are greater efforts and less evils arising from them. All the various passions of men seemed directed towards one general good, one grand political view, one happy exertion of all natural and moral faculties ; which is commerce.

Commerce.

IF the art of navigation arose from fishing, as that of war did from the chase ; the navy then

owes

owes its existence to commerce. The desire of B O O K  
gain first induced us to make voyages; and one XIX.  
world hath been conquered to enrich another. 

This object of conquest has been the foundation of commerce; in order to support commerce, naval forces have become necessary, which are themselves produced by the trading navigation. The Phenicians, situated on the borders of the sea at the confines of Asia and Africa, to receive and dispense all the riches of the ancient world, founded their colonies and built their cities, with no other view but that of commerce. At Tyre, they were the masters of the Mediterranean; at Carthage, they laid the foundations of a republic that traded by the ocean upon the richest of the European coasts.

THE Greeks succeeded the Phenicians; as the Romans did the Carthaginians and the Greeks; they held the dominion of the sea as well as of the land; but they carried on no other kind of commerce, except that of conveying into Italy, for their own use, all the riches of Africa, Asia, and the conquered world. When Rome had invaded the whole world, and had lost all her acquisitions, commerce returned, as it were, to its original source towards the east. There it was established, while the Barbarians over-ran Europe. The empire was divided; the din of arms, and the art of war remained in the west; Italy however preserved its communication with the Levant, where all the treasures of India were circulated.

BOOK XIX. THE Crusades exhausted in Asia all the rage of zeal and ambition, of war and fanaticism, with which the Europeans were possessed: but they were the cause of introducing into Europe a taste for Asiatic luxury; and redeemed by giving rise to some degree of traffic and industry, the blood and the lives they had cost. Three centuries taken up in wars and voyages to the east, gave to the restless spirit of Europe a recruit it stood in need of; that it might not perish by a kind of internal consumption: they prepared the way for that exertion of genius and activity, which since arose, and displayed itself in the conquest and trade of the West-Indies, and of America.

THE Portuguese attempted by degrees to double the African coast. They successively seized upon all the points, and all the ports that must necessarily lead them to the Cape of Good Hope. They were engaged, for the space of fourscore years, in making themselves masters of all that western coast, where this great cape terminates. In 1497, Vasco de Gama surmounted this barrier; and returning by the eastern coast of Africa, arriving by a passage of twelve hundred leagues at the coast of Malabar, where all the treasures of the richest countries of Asia were to be circulated. This was the scene on which the Portuguese displayed all their conquests.

WHILE this nation made itself master of the articles of trade, the Spaniards seized upon that which purchases them, the mines of gold and silver.



silver. These metals became not only a standard B O O K to regulate the value, but also the object of com- XIX. merce. In this double use they soon engrossed all the rest. All nations were in want of them to facilitate the exchange of their commodities, and obtain the conveniencies they stood in need of. The luxury and the circulation of money in the south of Europe, changed the nature as well as the direction of commerce, at the same time that it extended its bounds.

BUT the two nations that had subdued the East and West Indies, neglected arts and agriculture. They imagined every thing was to be obtained by gold, without considering that it is labour alone that procures it: they were convinced, though late, and at their own expence, that the industry which they lost, was more valuable than the riches they acquired; and the Dutch taught them this severe instruction.

THE Spaniards though possessed of all the gold in the world remained or became poor; the Dutch presently acquired riches; without either lands or mines. Holland is a nation at the service of all the rest, but who sells her services at a high price. As soon as she had taken refuge in the midst of the sea, with industry and freedom, which are her tutelary gods, she perceived that she had not a sufficient quantity of land to support the sixth part of her inhabitants. She then chose the whole world for her domain, and resolved to enjoy it by her navigation and commerce. She made all  
lands

B O O K lands contribute to her subsistence; and all nations supply her with the conveniencies of life.

XIX.

Between the north and the south of Europe, she became what Flanders had been before, from which she had divided, in order to form an independent state entirely unconnected with it. Bruges and Antwerp had attracted Italy and Germany into their ports; Holland in her turn became the staple of all commercial powers, rich or poor. Not satisfied with inviting all other nations, she visited them herself, in order to procure from one what was wanted by another; to convey to the north, the merchandise of the south; to sell to the Spaniard ships for cargoes, and to exchange upon the Baltic wine for wood. She imitated the stewards and farmers of large estates, who by the immense profits they make in them, are enabled sooner or later to buy them up. Spain and Portugal have as it were been the cause that Holland has succeeded in taking from those powers part of their conquests in the East and West Indies, and almost the whole of the profit of their colonies. She availed herself of the indolence of these proud conquerors; and by her activity and vigilance, obtained the key of their treasures, leaving them nothing but the chest, which she took care to empty as fast as they replenished it. It is thus that a people of little refinement ruined two nations of polite and noble manners; but at the most honest and the most lawful game that can be met with in the several combinations of chance.

EVERY circumstance was favourable to the rise B O O K  
 and progress of the commerce of this republic. XIX.  
 Its position on the borders of the sea, at the  
 mouths of several great rivers; its proximity to  
 the most fertile or best cultivated lands of Eu-  
 rope: its natural connections with England and  
 Germany, which defended it against France; the  
 little extent and fertility of its own territory which  
 obliged the inhabitants to become fishermen,  
 sailors, brokers, bankers, carriers, and commis-  
 saries; in a word, to endeavour to live by in-  
 dustry for want of territory. Moral causes con-  
 tributed with those of the climate and the soil, to  
 establish and advance its prosperity. The liberty  
 of its government, which opened an asylum to all  
 strangers dissatisfied with their own; the freedom  
 of its religion, which permitted a public and quiet  
 profession of all other modes of worship; that is  
 to say, the agreement of the voice of nature with  
 that of conscience, of interests with duty; in a  
 word, that toleration, that universal religion of all  
 equitable and enlightened minds, friends to hea-  
 ven and earth; to God, as to their father; to  
 men, as to their brethren. In short, this com-  
 mercial republic found out the secret of availing  
 itself of all events, and of making even the ca-  
 lamities and vices of other nations concur in ad-  
 vancing its felicity. It turned to its own advan-  
 tage the civil wars which fanaticism raised among  
 people of a restless spirit, or which patriotism ex-  
 cited among a free people; it profited by the in-  
 dolence



B O O K dolence and ignorance which bigotry supported  
 XIX. among two nations who were under the influence  
 of the imagination.

THIS spirit of industry in Holland, with which was intermixed a considerable share of that political art which sows the seeds of jealousy and discord among the nations, at length excited the attention of other powers. The English were the first to perceive that traffic might be carried on without the interposition of the Dutch. England, where the attempts of despotism had given birth to liberty, because they were antecedent to corruption and effeminacy, was desirous of obtaining riches by labour which alleviate the burden of it. The English first considered commerce as the proper science and support of an enlightened, powerful and even a virtuous people. They considered it rather as an improvement of industry than an acquisition of enjoyments; rather as an encouragement and a source of activity among the people, than a promoter of luxury and magnificence. Invited to trade by their situation, this became the spirit of their government, and the means of their ambition. All their schemes tended to this great object. In other monarchies, trade is carried on by the common people; in this happy constitution by the state or the whole nation: she carries it on indeed with a constant desire of dominion, which implies that of enslaving other people, but by means, at least, that constitute the happiness of the world before it is subdued. By war, the conqueror

queror is little happier than the conquered; because injuries and massacres are their mutual object: but by commerce, the conquering people necessarily introduce industry into the country, which they would not have subdued if it had been already industrious, or which they would not maintain, if they had not brought industry in along with them. Upon these principles England had founded her commerce and her empire, and mutually and alternately extended one by the other.

B O O K  
XIX.

THE French, situated under as favourable a sky, and upon as happy a soil, have for a long time flattered themselves with the idea that they had much to give to other nations, without being under a necessity of asking scarce any return. But Colbert was sensible that in the fermentation Europe was in at this time, there would be an evident advantage for the culture and productions of a country that should employ those of the whole world. He opened manufactures for all the arts. The woollens, silks, dyes, embroideries, the gold and silver stuffs, were brought to so great a degree of refinement in luxury and taste in the hands of the French, that they were in great request among those nobles who were in possession of the greatest landed property. To increase the produce of the arts, it was necessary to procure the first materials, and these could only be supplied by direct commerce. The chances of navigation had given France some possessions in the new world, as they had to all the plunderers that had frequented the

B O O K *sea*. The ambition of some individuals had formed  
 XIX. colonies there, which had been at first supported  
 and even aggrandized by the trade of the Dutch  
 and the English. A national navy must necessarily  
 restore to the mother country this natural connecti-  
 on with its colonists. The government, therefore,  
 established its naval forces upon the strength of its  
 commercial navigation. The nation would then  
 necessarily make a double profit upon the materi-  
 als and the workmanship of the manufactures.  
 The French pursued for a long time this precarious  
 and temporary object of commerce, with an acti-  
 vity and spirit of emulation which must have made  
 them greatly surpass their rivals; and they still en-  
 joy that superiority over other nations, in all those  
 arts of luxury and ornament which procure riches  
 to industry.

THE natural volatility of the national character  
 and its propensity to trifling pursuits, hath brought  
 treasures to the state, by the taste that has fortunate-  
 ly prevailed for its fashions. Like to that light  
 and delicate sex, which teaches and inspires us with  
 a taste for dress, the French reign in all courts, at  
 least, by the toilet; and their art of pleasing is  
 one of the mysterious sources of their fortune and  
 power. Other nations have subdued the world by  
 those simple and rustic manners, which constitute  
 the virtues that are fit for war; to them it was given  
 to reign over it by their vices. Their empire will  
 continue, till they are degraded and enslaved by  
 their masters by exertions of authority equally ar-  
 bitrary



bitrary and unlimited, when they will become contemptible in their own eyes. Then, they will lose, with their confidence in themselves, that industry, which is one of the sources of their opulence and of the springs of their activity. They will soon have neither manufactures, colonies nor trade.

THIS taste for luxury and ease hath given rise to a new principle of the moral world, which hath insinuated itself by degrees, till it is become, as it were, necessary to the existence of political bodies: it hath produced the love of labour, which at present constitutes the chief strength of a state. The sedentary occupations of the mechanic arts indeed, render men more liable to be affected by the injuries of the seasons, less fit to be exposed to the open air which is the first nutritive principle of life. But still, it is better that the human race should be enervated under the roofs of the workshops, than inured to hardships under tents; because war destroys, while commerce on the contrary gives new life to every thing. By this useful revolution in manners, the general maxims of politics have altered the face of Europe. It is no longer a people immersed in poverty that becomes formidable to a rich nation. Power is at present an attendant on riches, because they are no longer the fruit of conquest, but the produce of constant labour, and of a life spent in perpetual employment. Gold and silver corrupt only those indolent minds which indulge in the delights of luxury,

B O O K upon that stage of intrigue and meanness, that is  
XIX. called greatness. But these metals employ the  
hands and arms of the people ; they excite a spirit  
of agriculture in the fields ; of navigation in the  
maritime cities ; and in the center of the state they  
lead to the manufacturing of arms, cloathing, fur-  
niture, and the construction of buildings. A spi-  
rit of emulation exists between man and nature ;  
they are perpetually improving each other. The  
people are formed and fashioned by the arts they  
profess. If there are some occupations which  
soften and degrade the human race, there are  
others by which it is hardened and repaired. If it  
be true that art renders them unnatural, they do  
not, at least, prepagate in order to destroy them-  
selves, as among the barbarous nations in heroic  
times. It is certainly an easy, as well as a capti-  
vating subject, to describe the Romans with the  
single art of war, subduing all the other arts, all  
other nations indolent or commercial, civilized or  
savage ; breaking or despising the vases of Corinth,  
more happy with their gods made of clay, than  
with the golden statues of their worthless em-  
perors. But it is a more pleasing, and perhaps,  
a nobler sight, to behold all Europe peopled with  
laborious nations, who are continually sailing round  
the globe, in order to cultivate and render it fit  
for mankind ; to see them animate by the enliven-  
ing breath of industry, all the regenerating powers  
of nature ; seek in the abyss of the ocean, and  
in the bowels of rocks, for new means of subsist-  
ence,

ence, or new enjoyments; stir and raise up the earth with all the mechanic powers invented by genius; establish between the two hemispheres by the happy improvements in the art of navigation, a communication of flying bridges, as it were, that re-unite one continent to the other; pursue all the tracks of the sun, overcome its annual barriers, and pass from the tropics to the poles upon the wings of the wind; in a word to see them open all the streams of population and pleasure, in order to pour them upon the face of the earth through a thousand channels. It is then, perhaps, that the divinity contemplates his work with satisfaction, and does not repent himself of having made man.

SUCH is the image of commerce; let us now admire the genius of the merchant. The same understanding that Newton had to calculate the motion of the stars, he exerts in tracing the progress of the commercial people that fertilize the earth. His problems are the more difficult to resolve, as the circumstances of them are not taken from the immutable laws of nature, as the systems of the geometrician are; but depend upon the caprices of men, and the uncertainty of a thousand events. That accurate spirit of combination that Cromwell and Richelieu must have had, the one to destroy, the other, to establish despotic government, the merchant also possesses and carries it further: for he takes in both worlds at one view, and directs his operations upon an infinite variety.



B O O K of relative considerations, which it is seldom given  
 XIX. to the statesman, or even to the philosopher, to  
 comprehend and estimate. Nothing must escape him; he must foresee the influence of the seasons, upon the plenty, the scarcity, and the quality of provisions; upon the departure or return of his ships; the influence of political affairs upon those of commerce; the changes which war or peace must necessarily occasion in the prices and demands for merchandise, in the quantity and choice of provisions, in the state of the cities and ports of the whole world; he must know the consequences that an alliance of the two northern nations may have under the torrid zone; the progress, either towards aggrandizement or decay, of the several trading companies; the effect that the fall of any European power in India, may have over Africa and America; the stagnation that may be produced in certain countries, by the blocking up of some channels of industry; the reciprocal connection there is between most branches of trade, and the mutual assistances they lend by the temporary injuries they seem to inflict upon each other; he must know the proper time to begin, and when to stop in every new undertaking: in a word, he must be acquainted with the art of making all other nations tributary to his own, and of increasing his own fortune by increasing the prosperity of his country; or rather he must know how to enrich himself by extending the general prosperity of mankind. Such are the objects that  
 the

the profession of the merchant engages him to at- B O O K  
tend to. XIX.

IT is also the trader's peculiar business to search into the recesses of the human heart, and to treat with his equals apparently, as if they were honest, but, in reality, as if they were men of no probity. Commerce is a science that equally requires the knowledge of men and of things. Its difficulty arises undoubtedly less from the variety of objects about which it is conversant, than from the avidity of those who are engaged in it. If emulation increases the concurrence of efforts, jealousy prevents their success. If interest is the vice that destroys professions in general, what must be its effects upon that in particular to which it owes its existence? The avidity with which it is carried on is the cause of its destruction. The thirst of gain spreads over commerce a spirit of avarice that lays a restraint upon every thing, even the means of amassing.

Is that competition between different governments which induces them to restrain general industry by mutual prohibitions, to be ascribed to the merchant; or to that tyrannical exertion of authority, which in order to acquire riches without the assistance of commerce, lays a restraint on all branches of industry by subjecting them to corporations? Certainly on the latter; for all these societies destroy the very spirit of commerce, which is liberty. To compel the indigent man to pay for the privilege of working, is to condemn him

B O O K at once to idleness by the indigence he is reduced  
 XIX. to, and to become indigent through idleness; it is to  
 diminish the sum total of national labour; to impoverish the people by enriching the state; and to destroy them both.

THE jealousy of trade between states is only a secret conspiracy to ruin each other, without any particular benefit to any one. Those who govern the people, exert the same skill in guarding against the industry of the nations, as in preserving themselves from the intrigues of the great. One individual alone, who is mean and destitute of every principle, is able to introduce a hundred restraints into Europe. New chains are contrived with as much expedition as destructive weapons. Prohibitions in commerce, and extortions in the finance, have given rise to smugglers and galley slaves, to customs and monopolies, to pirates and excisemen. Centinels and obstacles are placed in every part of the sea and of the land. The traveller enjoys no repose, the merchant no property; both are equally exposed to all the artifices of an insidious legislation, that gives rise to crimes by its prohibitions, and to penalties by crimes. They become culpable without knowing it, or without design: they are arrested, plundered and taxed, though innocent. The rights of the people are violated by their protectors; and those of the citizen by himself: the courtier is constantly endeavouring to disquiet the statesman; and the contractor oppresses the merchant. Such is the state of commerce in time of  
 peace.



peace. But what shall we say of commercial wars? B O O K  
XIX.

It is natural enough, for a people pent up in the icy regions of the north, to dig out iron from the bowels of the earth that refuses them subsistence; and to reap the harvest of another nation by force of arms: hunger, which is restrained by no laws, cannot violate any, and seems to plead an excuse for these hostilities. Men must necessarily live by plunder, when they have no corn. But, when a nation enjoys the privilege of an extensive commerce, and can supply several other states from its superfluity; what motive can induce it to declare war against other industrious nations; to obstruct their navigation and their labours; in a word, to forbid them to live on pain of death? Why does it arrogate to itself an exclusive branch of trade, a right of fishing and sailing, as if it were a matter of property, and as if the sea were to be divided into acres as well as the land? The motives of such wars are easily discovered: we know that the jealousy of commerce is nothing more than a jealousy of power. But have any people a right to obstruct a work they cannot execute themselves, and to condemn another nation to indolence, because they themselves chuse to be entirely given up to it?

How unnatural and contradictory an expression is a war of commerce! Commerce is the source and means of subsistence; war of destruction. Commerce may, possibly, give rise to war, and

BOOK continue it; but war puts a stop to every branch  
 XIX. of commerce. Whatever advantage one nation  
 may derive from another in trade, becomes a motive of industry and emulation to both: in war, on the contrary, the injury affects both; for plunder, fire and sword can neither improve lands, nor enrich mankind. The wars of commerce are so much the more fatal, as by the present superiority of the maritime powers over those of the continent, and of Europe over the three other parts of the world, the conflagration becomes general; and that the dissensions of two maritime powers excite the spirit of discord among all their allies, and occasion inactivity even among the neutral powers.

COASTS and seas stained with blood and covered with dead bodies; the horrors of war extending from pole to pole, between Africa, Asia and America, as well throughout the sea that separates us from the new world, as throughout the vast extent of the pacific ocean: such has been the spectacle exhibited in the two last wars, in which all the powers of Europe have been alternately shaken, or have distinguished themselves by some remarkable exertion. The earth, however, was depopulated, and commerce did not supply the losses it had sustained; the lands were exhausted by taxes, and the channels of navigation did not assist the progress of agriculture. The loans of the state previously ruined the fortunes of the citizens by usurious profits, the forerunners of bankruptcy.

Even

Even those powers that were victorious oppressed B O O K  
 by the conquests they had made, and having ac- XIX.  
 quired a greater extent of land than they could  
 keep or cultivate, were involved in the ruin of  
 their enemies. The neutral powers who were de-  
 siring of enriching themselves in peace, in the  
 midst of this commotion were exposed and tamely  
 submitted to insults more disgraceful than the de-  
 feats of an open war.

How highly impolitic are those commercial wars,  
 equally injurious to all the nations concerned, with-  
 out being advantageous to such as are not engaged  
 in them; those wars where the sailors become  
 soldiers, and the merchant ships are turned into  
 privateers; where the traffic between the mother  
 countries and their colonies is interrupted, and the  
 price of their reciprocal commodities is raised!

WHAT a source of political abuses arises from  
 those treaties of commerce which are productive  
 of war! Those exclusive privileges which one na-  
 tion acquires from another, either for a traffic of  
 luxury, or for the necessaries of life! A general  
 freedom granted to industry and commerce is the  
 only treaty which a maritime power should enforce  
 at home, or negotiate abroad. Such a conduct  
 would make the people who pursued it be consider-  
 ed as the benefactors of the human race. The  
 more labour was encouraged upon land, and the  
 greater number of ships there were at sea, so much  
 the more important to them would be the advan-  
 tages they pursue and obtain by negotiations and  
 by



B O O K by war. For there will be no increase of riches in  
 XIX. any country, if there be no industry among its  
 neighbours, who can acquire nothing but by articles of exchange, or by the means of gold and silver. But without commerce and industry neither metals, nor manufactures of value can be obtained; nor can either of these sources of riches exist without liberty. The indolence of one nation is prejudicial to all the rest, either by increasing their labour, or by depriving them of what it ought to produce. The effect of the present system of commerce and industry is the total subversion of order.

THE want of the fine fleeces of Spain is retrieved by the flocks of England, and the silk manufactures of Italy are carried on even in Germany; the wines of Portugal might be improved, were it not for the exclusive privileges granted to a particular company. The mountains of the north and south would be sufficient to supply Europe with wood and metals, and the vallies would produce a greater plenty of corn and fruits. Manufactures would be raised in barren countries, if these could be supplied with plenty of the necessaries of life by a free circulation. Whole provinces would not be left uncultivated in the heart of a country in order to fertilize some unwholesome morasses, where, while the people are supported by the productions of the land, the influence of the air and the water tends to their destruction. We should not see all the rich produce of commerce

merce confined to particular cities of a large king-  
 dom, as the privileges and fortunes of the whole  
 people are to particular families. Circulation  
 would be quicker, and the consumption increased.  
 Each province would cultivate its favourite pro-  
 duction, and each family its own little field: and  
 under every roof there would be one child to spare  
 for the purposes of navigation and the improve-  
 ment of the arts. Europe, like China, would  
 swarm with multitudes of industrious people.—  
 Upon the whole, the freedom of trade would in-  
 sensibly produce that universal peace which a brave  
 but humane monarch once considered not as merely  
 chimerical. The system of the happiness of na-  
 tions arising from the improvement of reason  
 would be founded on a turn for calculation and  
 the spirit of oeconomy, which would prove a more  
 effectual security of morals, than the visionary  
 ideas of superstition. These presently disappear  
 as soon as passions exert themselves, while reason  
 gains strength and advances to maturity along  
 with them.

COMMERCE, which naturally arises from agri-  
 culture, returns to it by its own tendency and by  
 the circulation it occasions: thus, the rivers re-  
 turn to the sea, which has produced them by the  
 exhalations of its waters into vapours, and by the  
 fall of those vapours when changed into waters.  
 The quantity of gold brought by the transpor-  
 tation and consumption of the fruits of the  
 earth, returns into its bosom, and reproduces all  
 the

BOOK  
 XIX.

B O O K the necessaries of life, and the materials of com-  
 XIX. merce. If the lands are not cultivated, all com-  
 merce is precarious, because it is deprived of its  
 principal supplies, which are the productions of  
 nature. Nations that are only maritime or com-  
 mercial, enjoy, it is true, the fruits of commerce;  
 but the origin of it is to be found among those  
 people that are skilled in the cultivation of land.  
 Agriculture is, therefore, the chief and real opu-  
 lence of a state. The Romans in the intoxication  
 of their conquests, by which they had obtained the  
 possession of all the earth without cultivating it,  
 were ignorant of this truth. It was unknown to  
 the Barbarians, who, destroying by the sword an  
 empire that had been established by it, abandoned  
 to slaves the cultivation of the lands, of which  
 they reserved to themselves the fruits and the pro-  
 perty. Even in the age subsequent to the disco-  
 very of the East and West-Indies, this truth was  
 unattended to; whether in Europe the people  
 were too much engaged in wars of ambition or re-  
 ligion to consider it; or, whether the conquests  
 made by Portugal and Spain beyond the seas, ha-  
 ving brought us treasures without labour, we  
 contented ourselves with enjoying them by encou-  
 raging luxury and the arts, before any method  
 had been thought of to secure these riches.

BUT the time came, when plunder ceased hav-  
 ing no object on which it could be exercised.  
 When the conquered lands in the new world,  
 after having been much contested for, were di-  
 vided,



vided, it became necessary to cultivate them, and B O O K  
 to support the colonists who settled there. As XIX.  
 these were natives of Europe, they cultivated for  
 that country such productions as it did not furnish, and required in return such provisions as custom had made natural to them. In proportion as the colonies were peopled, and that the number of sailors and manufacturers increased with the increase of productions, the lands must necessarily furnish a greater quantity of subsistence for the increase of population; and an augmentation of indigenous commodities, for foreign articles of exchange and consumption. The laborious employment of navigation, and the spoiling of provisions in the transport, causing a greater loss of materials and produce, it became necessary to cultivate the earth with the greatest care and assiduity, in order to render it more fruitful. The consumption of American commodities, far from lessening that of European productions, served only to increase and extend it upon all the seas, in all the ports, and in all the cities where commerce and industry prevailed. Thus the people who were the most commercial, necessarily became at the same time the greatest promoters of agriculture.

ENGLAND first conceived the idea of this new system. She established and encouraged it by honours and premiums proposed to the planters. A medal was struck and presented to the duke of Bedford, with the following inscription; *For having*  
 VOL. V. L 1 *ing*

BOOK *ing planted Oak.* Triptolemus and Ceres were

XIX. adored in antiquity only from similar motives;

and yet temples and altars are still erected to indolent monks. The God of nature will not suffer that mankind should perish. He hath implanted in all noble and generous minds, in the hearts of all people and of enlightened monarchs, this idea, that labour is the first duty of man, and that the most important of all labours is that of cultivating the land. The reward that attends agriculture, the satisfying of our wants, is the best encomium that can be made of it. *If I had a subject who could produce two blades of corn instead of one,* said a monarch, *I should prefer him to all the men of political genius in the state.* How much is it to be lamented that such a king and such an opinion are merely the fiction of Swift's brain. But a nation that can produce such writers, necessarily confirms the truth of this sublime idea; and accordingly we find that England doubled the produce of its cultivation.

THE example of the English has excited all other nations that were sensible of the value of industry, to direct it to its true origin and primary destination. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the French, who under the administration of three Cardinals, had scarce been allowed to turn their thoughts to public affairs, ventured at length to write on subjects of importance, and general utility. The undertaking of a universal dictionary of arts and sciences, brought every great object to view,

view, and exercised the thoughts of every man of B O O K  
 genius and knowledge. Montesquieu wrote the XIX.  
 spirit of laws, and the boundaries of genius were }  
 extended. Natural history was written by a French  
 Pliny, who surpassed Greece and Rome in the  
 knowledge and description of nature; this his-  
 tory, bold and sublime as its subject, warmed the  
 imagination of every reader, and powerfully ex-  
 cited them to such inquiries, as a nation cannot  
 relinquish, without returning into a state of bar-  
 barism. In less than twenty years, the French  
 nation became sensible of their real interests.  
 They communicated their knowledge to govern-  
 ment, and agriculture, if it was not encouraged  
 by rewards, was, at least, patronized by some  
 ministers.

GERMANY hath felt the happy influence of that  
 spirit of information and knowledge which contri-  
 butes to fertilize the earth and to multiply its in-  
 habitants. All the northern climates have turned  
 their attention to the improvement of their lands.  
 Even Spain has exerted herself; and though little  
 populous, has however engaged foreign husband-  
 men to labour in her uncultivated provinces.

IT is a fact somewhat remarkable, though it  
 might naturally be expected, that men should have  
 returned to the exercise of agriculture the first of  
 the arts only after they had successively tried the  
 rest. It is the common progression of the human  
 mind, not to regain the right path, till after it  
 hath exhausted itself in pursuing false tracks. It



B O O K is always advancing; and as it relinquished agriculture, to pursue commerce and the enjoyments  
 XIX. of luxury, it soon traversed over the different arts of life, and returned at last to agriculture, which is the source and foundation of all the rest, and to which it devoted its whole attention, from the same motives of interest that had made it quit it before. Thus the eager and inquisitive man, who voluntarily banishes himself from his country in his youth, wearied with his constant excursions, returns at last to live and die in his native land.

EVERY thing, indeed, depends upon, and arises from the cultivation of land. It forms the internal strength of states; and occasions riches to circulate into them from without. Every power which comes from any other source, is artificial and precarious, either considered in a natural or moral light. Industry and commerce which do not directly affect the agriculture of a country, are in the power of foreign nations, who may either dispute these advantages through emulation, or deprive the country of them through envy. This may be effected either by establishing the same branch of industry among themselves, or by suppressing the exportation of their own unwrought materials, or the importation of those materials when manufactured. But a country well cultivated, occasions an increase of population, and riches are the natural consequence of that increase. This is not the teeth which the dragon sows to bring forth soldiers to destroy each other;

other; it is the milk of Juno, which peoples BOOK  
 the heavens with an innumerable multitude of XIX.  
 stars. }

THE government, therefore, should rather be attentive to the support of country villages, than of great cities. The first may be considered as parents and nurseries always fruitful; the others only as daughters which are often ungrateful and barren. The cities can scarce subsist but from the superfluous part of the population and produce of the countries. Even the fortified places and ports of trade, which seem to be connected with the whole world by their ships, which diffuse more riches than they possess, do not, however, attract all the treasures they dispense, but by means of the produce of the countries that surround them. The tree must, therefore, be watered at its root. The cities will only be flourishing in proportion as the fields are fruitful.

BUT this fertility depends less upon the soil than upon the inhabitants. Spain and even Italy, though situated under a climate the most favourable to agriculture, produce less than France or England; because the efforts of nature are impeded in a thousand ways by the form of their government. In all parts where the people are attached to the country by property, by the security of their funds and revenues, the lands will flourish, in all parts where privileges are not confined to the cities, and labour to the countries, every proprietor will be fond of the inheritance of

B O O K his ancestors, will increase and embellish it by  
 XIX. assiduous cultivation, and his children will be multiplied in proportion to his means, and these be increased in proportion to his children.

It is, therefore, the interest of government to favour the husbandmen, in preference to all the indolent classes of society. Nobility is but an odious distinction, when it is not founded upon services of real and evident utility to the state; such as the defence of the nation against the encroachments of conquest, and against the enterprises of despotism. The nobles furnish only a precarious and oftentimes fatal assistance; when after having led an effeminate and licentious life in the cities, they can only afford a weak defence for their country upon her fleets and in her armies, and afterwards return to court, to solicit as a reward for their baseness, places and honours, which are revolting and burthensome to the nation. The clergy are a set of men usefess, at least, to the earth, even when they are employed in prayer. But when, with scandalous morals, they preach a doctrine which is rendered doubly incredible and impracticable from their ignorance and from their example; when, after having disgraced, discredited and overturned religion, by a variety of abuses, of sophisms, of injustices and usurpations, they wish to support it by persecution; then this privileged, indolent and restless class of men, become the most dreadful enemies of the state and of the nation. The only good and respectable



part of them that remains, is that portion of the B O O K clergy who are most despised and most burthened XIX. with duty, and who being situated among the lower class of people in the country, labour, edify, advise, comfort and relieve a multitude of unhappy men.

THE husbandmen deserve to be preferred by government, even to the manufacturers, and the professors of either the mechanical or liberal arts. To encourage and to protect the arts of luxury, and at the same time neglect the cultivation of the land, that source of industry, to which they owe their existence and support, is to forget the order of the several relations between nature and society. To favour the arts and to neglect agriculture, is the same thing as to remove the basis of a pyramid, in order to finish the top. The mechanical arts engage a sufficient number of hands by the allurements of the riches they procure, by the comforts they supply the workmen with, by the ease, pleasures and conveniences that arise in cities where the several branches of industry unite. It is the life of the husbandman that stands in need of encouragement for the hard labours it is exposed to, and of indemnification for the losses and vexations it sustains. The husbandman is placed at a distance from every object that can either excite his ambition, or gratify his curiosity. He lives in a state of separation from the distinctions and pleasures of society. He cannot give his children a polite education, without sending them

B O O K at a distance from him, nor place them in such a

XIX.            situation as may enable them to distinguish and advance themselves by the fortune they may acquire. He does not enjoy the sacrifices he makes for them, while they are educated at a distance from him. In a word, he undergoes all the fatigues that are incident to man, without enjoying his pleasures, unless supported by the paternal care of government. Every thing is burthensome and humiliating to him, even the taxes, the very name of which sometimes makes his condition more wretched than any other.

MEN are naturally attached to the liberal arts by their particular genius, which makes this attachment grow up into a kind of passion; and likewise by the reputation they reflect on those who distinguish themselves in the pursuit of them. It is not possible to admire the works of genius, without esteeming and caressing the persons endowed with that valuable gift of nature. But the man devoted to the labours of husbandry, if he cannot enjoy in quiet what he possesses, and what he gathers; if he is incapable of improving the benefits of his condition, because the sweets of it are taken from him; if the military service, if vassalage and taxes are to deprive him of his child, his cattle, and his corn, nothing remains for him, but to imprecate both the sky and the land that torment him, and to abandon his fields and his country.

A WISE government cannot refuse to pay its principal attention to agriculture, without endangering its very existence: the most ready and effectual means of assisting it, is to favour the multiplication of every kind of production, by the most free and general circulation. BOOK  
XIX.

AN unrestrained liberty in the exchange of commodities, renders a people at the same time commercial and attentive to agriculture; it extends the views of the farmer towards trade, and those of the merchant towards cultivation. It connects them to each other by such relations as are regular and constant. All men belong equally to the villages and to the cities, and there is a reciprocal communication maintained between the provinces. The circulation of commodities brings on in reality the golden age, in which streams of milk and honey are said to have flowed through the plains. All the lands are cultivated; the meadows are favourable to tillage by the cattle they feed; the growth of corn promotes that of vines, by furnishing a constant and certain subsistence to him who neither sows nor reaps, but plants, prunes and gathers.

LET us now consider the effects of a contrary system, and attempt to regulate agriculture, and the circulation of its produce by particular laws; and let us observe what calamities will ensue. Power will not only be desirous of observing and being informed of every action, but will even want to assume every important act to itself, in  
con-



BOOK XIX. consequence of which nothing will succeed. Men will be led like their cattle, or transported like their corn; they will be collected and dispersed at the will of a tyrant to be slaughtered in war, or perish upon fleets, or in different colonies. That which constitutes the life of a state will become its destruction. Neither the lands, nor the people will flourish, and the states will tend quickly to their dissolution, that is, to that separation which is always preceded by the massacre of the people, as well as their tyrants. What will then become of manufactures?

Manufac-  
tures.

AGRICULTURE gives birth to the arts, when it becomes general, and is carried to that degree of perfection which gives men leisure to invent, and procure themselves the conveniences of life; and when it has occasioned a population sufficiently numerous to be employed in other labours, besides those which the land requires; then a people must necessarily become either soldiers, navigators, or manufacturers. As soon as war has changed the rude and savage manners of a laborious people; as soon as it has nearly circumscribed the extent of their empire, those men who were before engaged in the exercise of arms, must then apply themselves to the management of the oar, the ropes, the scissars or the shuttle; in a word, of all the instruments of commerce and industry; for the land, which supported such a number of men without the assistance of their own labour, does not any more stand in need of it. As the arts  
ever

ever have a country of their own, their peculiar place of refuge, where they are carried on and flourish in tranquillity, it is easier to repair thither in search of them, than to wait at home till they shall have grown up, and advanced with the tardy progression of ages, and the favour of chance which presides over the discoveries of genius. Thus every nation of Europe that has had any industry, has borrowed the most considerable share of the arts from Asia. There invention seems to have been coeval with mankind.

THE beauty and fertility of those climes hath always produced a most numerous race of people, as well as abundance of fruits of all kinds. There, laws and arts, the offspring of genius and tranquillity, have arisen from the settled state of government; and luxury, the source of every enjoyment that attends industry, has sprung out of the richness of the soil. India, China, Persia and Egypt were in possession not only of all the treasures of nature, but also of the most brilliant inventions of art. War in these countries hath often destroyed every monument of genius, but they rise again out of their own ruins, as well as mankind. Not unlike those laborious swarms we see perish in their hives by the wintry blast of the north, and which reproduce themselves in spring, retaining still the same love of toil and order; there are certain Asiatic nations which have still preserved the arts of luxury with the materials that

sup-

B O O K supply them, notwithstanding the incursions and  
 XIX. conquests of the Tartars.

IT was in a country successively subdued by the Scythians, Romans, and Saracens, that the nations of Europe, which not even christianity nor time could civilize, recovered the arts and sciences without endeavouring to discover them. The Crusades exhausted the fanatic zeal of those who engaged in them, and changed their barbarous manners at Constantinople. It was by journeying to visit the tomb of their Saviour, who was born in a manger, and died on a cross, that they acquired a taste for magnificence, pomp and wealth. By them the Asiatic grandeur was introduced into the courts of Europe. Italy, the seat from whence religion spread her empire over other countries, was the first to adopt a species of industry that was of benefit to her temples, the ceremonies of her worship, and those processions which serve to keep up devotion by means of the senses, when once it has engaged the heart. Christian Rome, after having borrowed her rights from the Eastern nations, was still to draw from thence the wealth by which they are supported.

VENICE, whose gallies were ranged under the banner of liberty, could not fail of being industrious. The people of Italy established manufactures, and were a long time in possession of all the arts, even when the conquest of the East and West Indies had caused the treasures of the whole world to circulate in Europe. Flanders derived her ma-  
 nual



nual arts from Italy; England obtained those the **B O O K** established from Flanders; and France borrowed **XIX.** the general industry of all countries. Of the English she purchased her stocking looms, which work ten times as fast as the needle. The number of hands unoccupied from the introduction of the loom, were employed in making of lace, which was taken from the Flemings. Paris surpassed Persia in her carpets, and Flanders in her tapestry, in the elegance of her patterns, and the beauty of her dyes; and excelled Venice in the transparency and size of her mirrors. France learned to dispense with part of the silks she received from Italy, and with English broad cloths. Germany, together with her iron and copper mines, has always preserved the superiority she had acquired in melting, tempering, and working up those metals. But the art of giving the polish and fashion to every article that can be concerned in the ornaments of luxury, and the conveniencies of life, seems to belong peculiarly to the French; whether it be that, from the vanity of pleasing others, they find the means of succeeding by all the outward appearances of brilliant shew; or that in reality grace and ease are the constant attendants of a people naturally lively and gay, and who by instinct are in possession of taste.

EVERY people given to agriculture ought to have arts to employ their materials, and should multiply their productions to maintain their artists. Were they acquainted only with the labours of  
the

BOOK the field, their industry must be confined in its  
 XIX. cause, its means, and its effects. Having but few  
 } wants and desires, they would exert themselves  
 but little, employ fewer hands, and work less  
 time. Their cultivation would neither be extend-  
 ed nor improved. Should such a people be pos-  
 sessed of more arts than materials, they must be  
 indebted to strangers, who would ruin their ma-  
 nufactures, by sinking the price of their articles of  
 luxury, and raising the value of their provisions.  
 But when a people, engaged in agriculture, join  
 industry to property, the culture of their produce  
 to the art of working it up, they have then within  
 themselves every thing necessary for their existence  
 and preservation, every source of greatness and  
 prosperity. Such a people is endued with a power  
 of accomplishing every thing they wish, and sti-  
 mulated with the desire of acquiring every thing  
 that is possible.

NOTHING is more favourable to liberty than the  
 arts; it may be said to be their element, and that  
 they are, in their nature, citizens of the world.  
 An able artist may work in every country, because  
 he works for the world in general. Genius and  
 abilities every where avoid slavery, while soldiers  
 find it in all parts. When, through the want of  
 toleration in the clergy, the protestants were driven  
 out of France, they opened to themselves a refuge  
 in every civilized state in Europe: but when the  
 jesuits have been banished from their own country,  
 they have found no asylum any where; not even

in Italy, the parent of monachism and intolerance. BOOK

XIX.

THE arts multiply the means of acquiring riches, and contribute by a greater distribution of wealth to a more equitable repartition of property. Thus is prevented that excessive inequality among men, the unhappy consequence of oppression, tyranny and blind infatuation of a whole people.

MANUFACTURES contribute to the advancement of knowledge and of the sciences. The torch of industry serves to enlighten at once a vast horizon. No art is single: the greater part of them have their forms, modes, instruments and elements in common. The mechanics themselves have contributed prodigiously to extend the study of mathematics. Every branch of the genealogical tree of science has unfolded itself with the progress of the arts, as well liberal as manual. Mines, mills, the manufacture and dying of cloth, have enlarged the sphere of philosophy and natural history. Luxury has given rise to the art of enjoyment, which is entirely dependent on the liberal arts. As soon as architecture admits of ornaments without, it brings with it decorations for the inside of our houses: while sculpture and painting are at the same time employed in the embellishment and adorning of the edifice. The art of design is applied to our dress and furniture. The pencil, ever fertile in new designs, is varying without end its sketches and shades on our stuffs and our porcelain. The powers of genius are exerted in

com-



BOOK composing at leisure, master-pieces of poetry and  
 XIX. eloquence, or those happy systems of policy and  
 } philosophy, which restore to the people their natural rights; and to sovereigns all their glory, which consists in reigning over the heart and the mind, over the opinion and will of their subjects, by the means of reason and equity.

THEN it is that the arts produce that spirit of society which constitutes the happiness of civil life; which gives relaxation to the more serious occupations, by entertainments, shews, concerts, conversations, in short, by every species of agreeable amusement. Ease gives to every virtuous enjoyment an air of liberty, which connects and mingles the several ranks of men. Business adds a value or a charm to the pleasures that are its recompence. Every citizen depending upon the produce of his industry for subsistence, has leisure for all the agreeable or toilsome occupations of life, as well as that repose of mind which leads on to the sweets of sleep. Many indeed fall victims to avarice, but still less than to war or religious zeal; the continual scourges of an idle people.

AFTER the cultivation of the land, the encouragement of the arts and sciences is the next object that deserves the attention of man. At present, both serve to constitute the strength of civilized governments. If the arts have tended to weaken mankind, then the weaker people must have prevailed over the strong; for the balance

of Europe is in the hands of those nations, who are in possession of the arts.

B O O K

XIX.

SINCE manufactures have prevailed in Europe, the human heart, as well as the mind, have changed their bent and disposition. The desire of wealth has arisen in all parts from the love of pleasure. We no longer see any people satisfied with being poor, because poverty is no longer the bulwark of liberty. We are obliged, indeed, to confess that the arts in this world supply the place of virtues. Industry may occasion vices; but, it banishes, however, those of idleness, which are infinitely more dangerous. As information gradually dispels every species of fanaticism, while men are employed for the gratifications of luxury, they do not destroy one another through superstition. At least, human blood is never spilt without some appearance of interest; and war, probably, destroys only those violent and turbulent men, who in every state are born to be enemies to and disturbers of all order, without any other talent, any other propensity than that of doing mischief. The arts restrain that spirit of dissention, by subjecting man to stated and daily employments. They bestow on every rank of life the means and the hopes of enjoyment, and give even the meanest a kind of estimation and importance by the advantage that results from them. A workman at forty has been of more real value to the state than a whole family of vassals who were employed in tillage under the old feudal system. An opulent manufac-

B O O K  
 XIX. ture brings more benefit into a village than twenty castles of ancient barons, whether hunters or warriors, ever conferred on their province.

IF it be a fact, that in the present state of things the people who are the most industrious, ought to be the most happy and the most powerful, either because, in wars that are unavoidable, they furnish of themselves, or purchase by their wealth, more foldiers, more ammunition, more forces, both for sea or land service; or that having a greater interest in maintaining peace, they avoid contests, or terminate them by negotiation; or that, in case of a defeat, they the more readily repair their losses by the effect of labour; or that they are blessed with a milder and more enlightened government, notwithstanding the means of corruption and slavery that tyranny is supplied with by the effeminacy which luxury produces; in a word, if the arts really civilize nations, a state ought to neglect no opportunity of making manufactures flourish.

THESE opportunities depend on the climate, which, as Polybius says, forms the character, complexion and manners of nations. The most temperate climate must necessarily be the most favourable to that kind of industry, which requires less exertion. If the climate be too hot, it is inconsistent with the establishment of manufactures, which want the concurrence of several persons together to carry on the same work; and excludes all those arts which employ furnaces, or strong lights. If the climate prove too cold, it is not  
 proper



proper for those arts which can only be carried B O O K  
 on in the open air. At too great or too small a XIX.  
 distance from the equator, man is unfit for several  
 labours, which seems peculiarly adapted to a mild  
 temperature. In vain did Peter the Great search  
 among the best regulated states for all such arts  
 as were best calculated to civilize his people:  
 during a period of fifty years, not one of these  
 principles of civilization has been able to flourish  
 among the frozen regions of Russia. All artists  
 are strangers in that land, and if they endeavour  
 to reside there, their talents and their works soon  
 die with them. When Lewis XIV. in his old age (as  
 if that were the time of life for severity) persecuted  
 the protestants, in vain did they introduce their  
 arts and trades among the people who received  
 them; they were no longer able to work in the  
 same manner as they had done in France. Though  
 they were equally active and laborious, the arts  
 they had introduced were lost or declined, from  
 not having the advantage of the same climate and  
 heat to animate them.

To the favourable disposition of climate, for the  
 encouragement of manufactures, should be united  
 the advantage of the political situation of the  
 state. When it is of such extent as to have no-  
 thing to fear or want in point of security; when  
 it is in the neighbourhood of the sea for the land-  
 ing of its materials, and the sale of its manufac-  
 tures; when it is situated between powers that  
 have iron mines to employ its industry, and others

B O O K that have mines of gold to reward it ; when it has  
 XIX. nations on each side with ports and roads open on  
 every quarter ; such a state will have all the external advantages necessary to excite a people to open a variety of manufactures.

BUT one advantage still more essential is fertility of soil. If cultivation requires too many hands, there will be a want of labourers, or the manufacturers will employ so many hands, that there will not be men enough to cultivate the fields ; and this must occasion a dearth of provisions, which, while it raises the price of workmanship, will also diminish the number of trades.

WHERE fertility of soil is wanting, manufactures require, at least, as few men to be employed as possible. A nation that should expend much on its mere subsistence would absorb the whole profits of its industry. When the gratifications of luxury are greater or more expensive than the means of supplying them, the source from which they are derived is lost, and they can no longer be supported. If the workman will feed and clothe himself like the manufacturer who employs him, the manufacture is soon ruined. The degree of frugality that republican nations adhere to from motives of virtue, the manufacturer ought to observe from views of parsimony. This may be the reason, perhaps, that the arts, even those of luxury, are more adapted to republics than monarchies ; for under monarchical institutions, poverty is not always the sharpest spur with the people to industry.

industry. Labour, proceeding from hunger is narrow and confined like the appetite it springs from; but the work that arises from ambition spreads and increases as naturally as the vice itself.

NATIONAL character has considerable influence over the progress of the arts relative to luxury and ornament. A particular people is fitted for invention by that levity which naturally inclines them to novelty. The same nation is fitted for the arts, by their vanity, which inclines them to the ornament of dress. Another nation less lively, has less taste for trivial matters, and is not fond of changing fashions. Being of a more serious turn these people are more inclined to indulge in excesses of the table, and to drinking which relieves them from all anxiety and apprehension. Of these nations, the one must succeed better than its rival in the arts of decoration, and must have the preference over it among all the other nations which are fond of the same arts.

THE advantages which manufactures derive from nature, are further seconded by the form of government. While industry is favourable to national liberty, that in return should assist industry. Exclusive privileges are enemies to commerce and the arts, which are to be encouraged only by competition. Even the rights of apprenticeship, and the value set on corporations, are a kind of monopoly. The state is prejudiced by that sort of privilege, which favours incorporated trades; that



BOOK is, petty communities are protected at the expence  
 XIX. of the greater body. By taking from the lower  
 class of the people the liberty of choosing the profession that suits them, every profession is filled with bad workmen. Such as require greater talents are exercised by those who are the most wealthy; the meaner, and less expensive, fall often to the share of men born to excel in some superior art. As both are engaged in a profession for which they have no taste, they neglect their work, and prejudice the art: the first because they have no abilities; the latter, because they are convinced that their abilities are superior to it. But if we remove the impediment of corporate bodies, we shall produce a rivalship in the workmen, and consequently, the work will increase as well as be more perfect.

It may be a question, whether it be beneficial to collect manufactures in large towns, or to disperse them over the country. This point is determined by facts. The arts of primary necessity have remained where they were first produced, in those places which have furnished the materials for them. Forges are in the neighbourhood of the mine, and linen near the flax. But the complicated arts of industry and luxury cannot be carried on in the country. If we disperse over a large extent of territory all the arts, which are combined in watch and clock-making, we shall ruin Geneva with all the works that support it. The perfection of stuffs requires their being made in a town,  
 where

where fine dyes may at once be united with beautiful patterns, and the art of working up woollens and silks with that of making gold and silver lace. If there are wanting eighteen hands to make a pin, through how many manual arts, and artificers must a laced coat, or an embroidered waistcoat pass? How shall we be able to find amidst an interior central province the immense apparatus of arts that contribute to the furnishing of a palace, or the entertainments of a court. Those arts, therefore, that are most simple and connected with others, must be confined to the country; and such cloaths as are fit for the lower class of people must be made in the provinces. We must establish between the capital and the other towns a reciprocal dependence of wants and conveniences, of materials and works; but still nothing must be done by authority or compulsion, workmen must be left to act for themselves. Let there be freedom of traffic, and freedom of industry; and manufactures will prosper, population will increase.

Has the world been more peopled at one time than another? This is not to be ascertained from history, on account of the deficiency of historians in one half of the globe that has been inhabited, and because one half of what is related by historians, is fabulous. Who has ever taken or could at any time take an account of the inhabitants of the earth? She was, it is said, more fruitful in earlier times. But when was the period of this

B O O K golden age? Was it when a dry sand arose from  
 XIX. the bed of the sea, purged itself in the rays of  
 the sun; and caused the slime to produce vegetables, animals and human creatures? But the whole surface of the earth must alternately have been covered by the ocean. The earth has then always had, like the individuals of every species, an infant state, a state of weakness and sterility before she arrived at the age of fecundity. All countries have been for a long time buried under water, laying uncultivated beneath sands and morasses, wild and overgrown with bushes and forests, till the human species, being thrown by accident on these deserts and solitudes, has cleared, altered and peopled the land. But as all the causes of population are subordinate to those natural laws which govern the universe, as well as to the influences of soil and atmosphere, which are subject to a number of calamities, it must ever have varied with those periods of nature that have been either adverse or favourable to the increase of mankind. However, as the lot of every species seems in a manner to depend on its faculties, the history of the progress and improvement of human industry must therefore in general supply us with the history of the population of the earth. On this ground of calculation, it is, at least doubtful, whether the world was formerly better inhabited and more peopled than it is at present.

LET us leave Asia under the veil of that antiquity which reports it to us ever covered with innumerable



numerable nations, and swarms of people so prodigious that (notwithstanding the fertility of a soil which stands in need but of one ray of the sun to enable it to produce all sorts of fruits) men did but just arise, and succeed one another with the utmost rapidity, and were destroyed either by famine, pestilence or war. Let us consider with more attention the population of Europe, which seems to have taken the place of Asia, by conferring upon art all the powers of nature.

IN order to determine whether our continent was, in former ages more inhabited than at present, it is sufficient to examine, whether it was then more cultivated. Do any traces remain among us of plantations that have been abandoned? What coast is there where men could land, what country that was accessible that is at present without inhabitants? If discoveries are made of the ruins of old towns, it is beneath the foundations of cities as large as the former. But though the population even of Italy and Spain should be less than it was formerly, how much are not the other states of Europe increased in the number of their inhabitants? What were those multitudes of people which Cæsar reckoned up in Gaul, but a sort of savage nations more formidable in name than in number? Were all those Britains, who were subdued in their island by two Roman legions, much more numerous than the Corsicans at present? Germany, indeed, as it should seem, must have been extremely well peopled,

BOOK XIX. pled, as she alone brought into subjection, in the compass of two or three centuries, one half of the finest countries in Europe. But let us consider, that these were the people of a territory ten times as large who possessed themselves of a country inhabited at present by three or four nations only; and that it was not owing to the number of her conquerors, but to the revolt of her subjects, that the Roman empire was destroyed and reduced to subjection. In this astonishing revolution, we may readily admit that the victorious nations did not amount to one twentieth part of those that were conquered; because the former made their attacks with half their numbers of effective men, and the latter employed no more than the hundredth part of their effective inhabitants in their defence. But a people, who engage entirely for their own defence and support are more powerful than ten armies raised by kings and princes.

BESIDES, those long and bloody wars, of which ancient history is full, are destructive of that excessive population they seem to prove. If on the one hand the Romans endeavoured to supply the losses their armies sustained in consequence of the victories they obtained, that desire of conquest to which they were devoted, destroyed at least, other nations; for as soon as the Romans had subdued any people, they incorporated them into their own armies, and exhausted their strength, as much by recruits as by the tribute they imposed upon them. It is well known with what rage wars were carried

on by the ancients: that often in a siege, the whole town was laid in ashes; men, women and children perished in the flames rather than fall under the dominion of the conqueror; that in assaults, every inhabitant was put to the sword; that in regular engagements, it was thought more desirable to die, sword in hand, than to be led in triumph, and be condemned to perpetual slavery. Were not these barbarous customs of war injurious to population? If, as we must allow, some unhappy men were preserved to be the victims of slavery, this was but of little service to the increase of mankind, as it established in a state an extreme inequality of conditions among beings by nature equal. If the division of societies into small colonies or states were adapted to multiply families by the partition of lands; it likewise more frequently occasioned contests among the nations; and as these small states touched one another, as it were, in an infinite number of points, in order to defend them, every inhabitant was obliged to take up arms. Large bodies are not easily put into motion on account of their bulk; small ones are in a perpetual motion, which entirely destroys them.

If war were destructive of population in ancient times, peace was not always able to promote and restore it. Formerly all nations were ruled by despotic or aristocratic power, and these two forms of government are by no means favourable to the increase of the human species. The free cities of Greece



B O O K Greece were subject to laws so complicated, that  
 XIX. there were continual dissensions among the citizens.

Even the inferior class of people, who had no right of voting, obtained a superiority in the public assemblies, where a man of talents by the power of eloquence was enabled to inflame the minds of so many persons. Besides, in these states population tended to be confined to the city, in conjunction with ambition, power, riches, and in short, all the effects and springs of liberty. Not but that the lands under the democratical states must have been well cultivated and well peopled. But the democracies were few; and as they were all ambitious, and could only aggrandize themselves by war, if we except Athens, whose commerce, indeed, was also owing to the superiority of its arms, the earth could not long flourish, and increase in population. In a word, Greece and Italy were at least the only countries better peopled than they are at present.

WHERE indeed do we find such a degree of population as bears any comparison with what a traveller meets with at this day on every sea coast, along all the great rivers, and on the roads to capital cities; except in Greece, which repelled, restrained, and subdued Asia; in Carthage which appeared on the borders of Africa, and soon declined to its former state; and in Rome, which brought into subjection and destroyed the known world. What vast forests are turned to tillage; what harvests are waving in the place of reeds that  
 covered

covered marshy grounds? What numbers of civi- B O O K  
lized people, who subsist on dried fish, and salted X I X.  
provisions? }

IN the police, in the morals, and in the politics of the moderns we may discern many causes of propagation that did not exist among the ancients: but at the same time we observe likewise some impediments which may prevent or diminish among us that sort of progress, which, in our species, should be most conducive to its being raised to the greatest degree of perfection. For population will never be very considerable, unless men are more happy.

POPULATION depends in a great measure on the distribution of landed property. Families are multiplied in the same manner as their possessions, and when they are too large, they are injurious to population from their too great extent. A man of considerable property, working only for himself, sets apart one half of his lands for his income, and the other for his pleasures. All he appropriates to hunting is a double loss in point of cultivation, for he breeds animals on the land that should be appropriated to men, instead of subsisting men on the land which is appropriated to animals. Wood is necessary in a country for repairs and fuel: but is there any occasion for so many avenues in a park; or for parterres, and kitchen gardens of such extent as belong to a large estate? In this case, does luxury, which in its magnificence contributes to the support of the arts,  
prove

BOOK prove as favourable to the increase of mankind,  
 XIX. as it might by employing the land to better purposes? Too many large estates, therefore, and too few small ones; this is the first impediment to population.

THE next obstacle, is the unalienable domains of the clergy: when so much property remains for ever in the same hands, how shall population flourish, when it entirely depends upon the improvement of lands by the increase of shares among different proprietors. What interest has the incumbent to increase the value of an estate he is not to transmit to any successor, to sow or plant for a posterity not derived from himself. Far from diminishing his income to improve his lands, will he not rather impair the estate, in order to increase the rents which he is to enjoy only for life?

THE entails of estates in great families are not less prejudicial to the propagation of mankind. They lessen at once both the nobility and the other ranks of people. Just as the right of primogeniture among the great sacrifices the younger children to the interest of the elder branch; entails destroy several families for the sake of a single one. Almost all entailed estates are ill cultivated on account of the negligence of a proprietor who is not attached to a possession he is not to dispose of, which has been ceded to him only with regret, and which is already given to his successors, whom he cannot consider as his heirs, because they are  
 not



not named by him. The right of primogeniture, B O O K  
 and entail, is then a law, one may say, made on XIX.  
 purpose to defeat the increase of population in any  
 state. }

FROM the two first obstacles to population produced by the defect of legislation, there arises a third, which is the poverty of the people. Wherever the farmers have not the property of the ground-rent, their life is miserable, and their condition precarious. Not being certain of their subsistence, which depends on their health, having but small reliance on their strength, which is not at their own disposal, and weary of their existence, they are afraid of breeding a race of wretched beings. It is an error to imagine that plenty of children are produced in the country, when there die as many, if not more, than are born every year. The toil of the father, and the milk of the mother are lost to them, and their children; for they will never attain to the flower of their age, or to that period of maturity, which by its services will recompence all the pains that have been bestowed upon their education. With a small portion of land, the mother might bring up her child, and cultivate her own little garden, while the father by his labour abroad, might add to the conveniencies of his family. As he has no property and his gains are very small, they are insufficient for the support of his family, who languish in distress, or the child perishes from the toils of the mother.

BOOK

WHAT a variety of evils arise from a faulty or  
XIX. defective legislation? Vices and calamities are in-

finite in their effects, they mutually assist each other in spreading general destruction, and arise from one another, till they are both exhausted. The indigence of the country produces an increase of troops, a burthen ruinous in its nature, destructive of men in time of war, and of land in time of peace. It is certain that the military are injurious to agriculture by their not assisting in the culture of the lands; because every soldier deprives the public of a labourer, and burthens it with an idle or useless consumer. He defends the country in time of peace, merely from a pernicious system, which under the pretext of defence makes all nations aggressors. If all governments would, as they easily might, let those men, whom they devote to the army, be employed in the labours of husbandry, the number of labourers and artists throughout Europe, would in a short time be considerably increased. All the powers of human industry would be exerted in improving the advantages of nature, and in surmounting every obstacle to improvement; every thing would concur in promoting life, not in spreading destruction.

THE deserts of Russia would be cleared, and the plains of Poland not laid waste. The vast dominions of the Turks, would be cultivated, and the blessing of their prophet would be extended over numberless people. Egypt, Syria, and Palestine would again become what they were in the  
times

times of the Phenicians, in the days of their shep-herd kings, and of the Jews who enjoyed happiness and peace under their judges. The parched mountains of Sierra Morena would be rendered fertile, the heaths of Aquitania would be cleared of insects and be covered with people.

BUT general good is merely the delusive dream of benevolent men. This brings to my remembrance the virtuous prelate of Cambray, and the good Abbé of St. Pierre. Their works are composed with a design to make deserts inhabited, not indeed with hermits, who fly from the vices and misfortunes of the world, but with happy families, who would proclaim the glory of God, upon earth, as the stars declare it in the firmament. Their writings abound with social views and sentiments of humanity, and may be considered as truly inspired; for humanity is the gift of heaven. Kings will insure the attachment of their people in proportion as they themselves are attached to such men.

IT is scarce necessary to observe that one of the means to favour population is to suppress the celibacy of the regular and secular clergy. Monastic institutions have a reference to two æras remarkable in the history of the world. About the year 700. of Rome, Jesus Christ was the founder of a new religion in the east; and the subversion of Paganism was soon attended with that of the Roman empire itself. Two or three hundred years after the death of Christ, Egypt and Palestine



B O O K were filled with Monks. About the year 700 of  
 XIX. the christian æra, Mohammed appeared, and esta-  
 blished a new religion in the east ; and christianity  
 was transferred to Europe, where it fixed. Three  
 or four hundred years afterwards, there arose mul-  
 titudes of religious orders. At the time of the  
 birth of Christ, the books of David and those of  
 the Sybil foretold the destruction of the world, a  
 deluge, or rather an universal conflagration, and  
 general judgment : and all people oppressed by  
 the dominion of the Romans, wished for and be-  
 lieved in a general dissolution. A thousand years  
 after the christian æra, the books of David and  
 those of the Sybil still announced the last judg-  
 ment : and several penitents, as ferocious and  
 wild in their extravagant piety as in their vices,  
 sold all their possessions to go to conquer and die  
 upon the tomb of their redeemer. The nations  
 groaning under the tyranny of the feudal govern-  
 ment wished for and still believed in the end of the  
 world.

WHILE one part of the christian world, struck  
 with terror, went to perish in the Crusades, ano-  
 ther part were burying themselves in cloysters.  
 This was the origin of the monastic life in Europe.  
 Opinion gave rise to monks, and it will be the  
 cause of their destruction. The estates they pos-  
 sessed, they will leave behind them for the use and  
 increase of society : and all those hours, that are  
 lost in praying without devotion, will be dedicated  
 to their primitive intention, which is labour. The  
 clergy

clergy are to remember that in the sacred scriptures, God says to man in a state of innocence, increase and multiply : to man in a fallen state, till the earth, and work for thy subsistence. If the duties of the priesthood seem yet to allow the priest to incumber himself with the care of a family and an estate, the duties of society more strongly forbid celibacy. If the monks in earlier times cleared the deserts they inhabited ; they now contribute to depopulate the towns where their number is very great : if the clergy has subsisted on the alms of the people, they in their turn reduce the people to beggary. Among the idle classes of society, the most prejudicial is that, which, from its very principles, must tend to promote a general spirit of indolence among men ; make them waste at the altar as well the work of the bees, as the salary of the workmen ; which burns in day-time the candles that ought to be reserved for the night, and makes men lose in the church that time they owe to the care of their families ; which engages men to ask of heaven the subsistence that the ground only can give, or produce in return for their toil.

THERE is still another cause of the depopulation of some states ; which is, that want of toleration which persecutes and proscribes every religion but that of the prince on the throne. This is a species of oppression and tyranny peculiar to modern politics to extend its influence even over mens thoughts and consciences : a barbarous piety,

B O O K

XIX.

which, for the sake of exterior forms of worship, extinguishes in some degree the very idea of the existence of God, by destroying multitudes of his worshippers: it is an impiety still more barbarous, that on account of things so indifferent as religious ceremonies must appear, destroys the life of man, and impedes the populations of states, which should be considered as points of the utmost importance. For neither the number nor the allegiance of subjects is increased by exacting oaths contrary to conscience, by forcing into secret perjury those who are engaged in the marriage ties, or in the different professions of a citizen. Unity in religion is proper only when it is naturally established by conviction. When once that is at an end, a general liberty if granted, would be the means of restoring tranquility and peace of mind. When no distinction is made, but this liberty is fully and equally extended to every citizen, it can never disturb the peace of families.

NEXT to the celibacy of the clergy and of the military, the former of which arises from profession, the latter from custom, there is a third, derived from convenience, and introduced by luxury. I mean that of life annuitants. Here we may admire the chain of causes. At the same time that commerce favours population by the means of industry both by land and sea, by all the objects and operations of navigation, and by the several arts of cultivation and manufactures, it also decreases it by reason of all those vices which luxury introduces.



introduces. When riches have gained a superiority B O O K  
over the minds of men, then opinions and man- XIX.  
ners alter by the intermixture of ranks. The  
arts and the talents of pleasing corrupt society,  
while they polish it. When the intercourse be-  
tween the sexes becomes frequent, they mutually  
seduce each other, and the weaker are induced by  
the stronger to adopt the frivolous turn for dress  
and amusement. The women become childish and  
the men effeminate. Entertainments are the sole  
topic of their conversation, and the object of their  
occupation. The manly and robust exercises, by  
which the youth were trained up to discipline, and  
prepared for the most important and dangerous  
professions, give place to the love of public shews,  
where every passion that can render a nation effe-  
minate is caught, as long as there is no appearance  
of a patriotic spirit among them. Indolence be-  
comes prevalent among that class of men who are  
not obliged to labour, and among those that  
should, less business is done. The variety of arts  
multiplies fashions, and these increase our ex-  
pences; articles of luxury become necessary; what  
is superfluous is looked upon as needful; and peo-  
ple in general are better dressed, but do not live  
so well; and purchase clothes at the expence of the  
necessaries of life. The lower class of men become  
debauched before they are sensible of the passion  
of love, and marrying later, have fewer or weaker  
children: the tradesman seeks a fortune not a wife,  
and his libertinism deprives him of both. The

rich, whether married or not, are continually seducing women of every rank, or debauching girls of low condition. The difficulty of supporting the charges of marriage, and the readiness of finding the joys of it without bearing any of its disagreeable inconveniences, tends to increase the number of unmarried people in every class of life. The man, who renounces the hope of being the father of a family, consumes his patrimony, and in concert with the state, which increases his income, by borrowing money from him at a ruinous interest, he lavishes upon one generation the support of many; he extinguishes his own posterity as well as that of the women by whom he is rewarded, and that of the girls who are paid by him. Every kind of prostitution prevails at the same time. Honour and duty is forfeited in every rank; the ruin of the women is but the forerunner of that of the men.

THE nation that is inclined to gallantry, or rather to libertinism, soon loses its power and credit in other countries, and is ruined at home. There is no longer any nobility, no longer any body of men to defend their own or the people's rights; for every where division and self-interest prevails. No one wishes to be ruined alone. The love of riches becomes the general object of attraction, the honest man is apprehensive of losing his fortune, and the man of no honour is intent upon making his: the one retires from the world, the other sets himself up to sale, and thus the state is lost. Such  
is

is the constant progress of commerce in a monarchical government. What its effects are in a republic we know from antient history. But still it is necessary at this period to excite men to commerce, because the present situation of Europe is favourable to it, and commerce itself promotes population.

But it will be asked whether a great degree of population is of use to promote the happiness of mankind. This is an idle question. In fact, the point is not to multiply men, in order to make them happy; but it is sufficient to make them happy, that they should multiply. All the means which concur in the prosperity of any state, tend of themselves to the propagation of its people. A legislator desirous of an increase of people merely to have a greater number of soldiers, and of subjects, only for the purpose of subduing his neighbours, would be a monster, and an enemy to the human race, since his plans of political increase would be solely directed to the destruction of others. A legislator, on the contrary, who like Solon, should form a republic, whose multitudes might people the desert coasts of the sea; or who like Penn, should make laws for the cultivation of his colony, and forbid war, such a legislator would undoubtedly be considered as a God on earth. Even though his name should not be immortalized, he would live in happiness, and die contented, especially if he could be certain of



B O O K leaving behind him laws of such wisdom as to free  
 XIX. his people for ever from the vexation of taxes.

Taxes.

A TAX may be defined, a sacrifice of a part of a man's property for the preservation of the other: from hence it follows, that there should not be any tax either among people in a state of slavery, or among savages: for the former no longer enjoy any property, and the latter have not yet acquired any.

BUT when a nation possesses any large and valuable property, when its fortune is sufficiently established, and is considerable enough to make the expences of government necessary, when it has possessions, trade, and wealth capable of tempting the avidity of its neighbours who may be poor or ambitious; then, in order to guard its frontiers, or its provinces, to protect its navigation, and keep up its police, there is a necessity for forces and for a revenue. It is but just and requisite, that the persons who are employed in any manner for the public good, should be maintained by all the other orders of the society.

THERE have been countries and times, in which a portion of the territory was assigned for the public expences of the state. The government not being enabled of itself to turn such extensive possessions to advantage, was forced to entrust this charge to administrators, who either neglected the revenues, or appropriated them to their own use. This practice brought on still greater inconveniences. Either the royal domains were too considerable

siderable in time of peace, or insufficient for the B O O K calls of war. In the first instance, the liberty of XIX. the state was oppressed by the ruler of it, and in the latter, by strangers. It has, therefore, been found necessary to have recourse to the contributions of the citizens.

THESE funds were in early times not considerable. The stipends then allowed were merely an indemnification to those whom public affairs prevented from attending to those employments that were necessary for their subsistence. Their reward arose from that pleasing sensation which we experience from an internal consciousness of our own virtue, and from the view of the homage paid to it by other men. This moral wealth was the greatest treasure of rising societies; a kind of coin which it was equally the interest of government and of morality not to diminish the value of.

HONOUR held the place of taxes no less in the flourishing periods of Greece, than in the infant state of societies. The patriot who served his country, did not think he had any right to destroy it. The impost, laid by Aristides on all Greece, for the support of the war against Persia, was so moderate, that those who were to contribute, of themselves, called it *the happy fortune of Greece!* What times were these, and what a country, in which taxes made the happiness of the people!

THE Romans acquired power and empire almost without any assistance from the public treasury. The love of wealth would have diverted them from

BOOK from the conquest of the world. The public  
 XIX. service was attended to without any views of in-  
 terest, even after their manners had been cor-  
 rupted.

UNDER the feudal government, there were no taxes, for on what could they have been levied? The man and the land were both the property of the Lord. It was both a real and a personal servitude.

WHEN knowledge began to flourish in Europe, the nations turned their thoughts towards their own security. They voluntarily furnished contributions to repress foreign and domestic enemies. But those tributes were moderate, because princes were not yet absolute enough to divert them to the purposes of their own capricious humours, or to the advantage of their ambition.

THE new world was discovered, and the passion for conquest engaged every nation. That spirit of aggrandizement was inconsistent with the slowness with which affairs are managed in popular assemblies; and sovereigns succeeded without much difficulty in appropriating to themselves greater rights than they had ever before enjoyed. The imposition of taxes was the most important of their usurpations, and it is that whose consequences have been the most pernicious.

PRINCES have even ventured to render the marks of servitude apparent upon all their subjects, by levying a poll-tax. Independent of the humili-  
 ation



ation it is attended with, can any thing be more arbitrary than such a tax. BOOK  
XIX.

Is the tax to be levied upon voluntary information? But this would require between the monarch and his subjects an attachment to each other arising from a principle of duty, which should unite them by a mutual love of the general good; or, at least, a regard to the public welfare to inspire the one with confidence in the other, by a sincere and reciprocal communication of their intelligence, and of their sentiments. Even then, upon what is this conscientious principle to be founded, which is to serve as an instructor, a guide and a check in the affairs of government?

Is the sanctuary of families, or the closet of the citizen to be invaded, in order to gain by surprise, and bring to light what he does not chuse to reveal, what it is often of importance to him not to discover. What an inquisition is this! What an injurious violence! Though we should even become acquainted with the revenues and means of subsistence of every individual, do they not vary from one year to another with the uncertain and precarious productions of industry? Are they not lessened by the increase of children, by the decay of strength through sickness, age, and laborious occupations. The very faculties of the human species, which are useful and employed in laborious occupations, do they not change with those vicissitudes occasioned by time in every thing that depends on nature and fortune? The personal

BOOK tax is a vexation then to the individual without  
 XIX. being a general benefit. A poll-tax is a sort of  
 } slavery, oppressive to the man, without being pro-  
 fitable to the state.

AFTER princes had imposed this tax, which is a mark of despotism, or which leads to it sooner or later, imposts were then laid upon articles of consumption. Sovereigns have affected to consider this new tribute as in some measure voluntary, because it rises in proportion to the expences of the subject, which he is at liberty to increase or diminish according to his abilities, or his propensities, which are for the most part factitious.

BUT if taxation affect the commodities which are of immediate necessity, it must be considered as an act of the greatest cruelty. Previous to all the laws of society, man had a right to subsist. And is he to lose that right by the establishment of laws? To sell the produce of the earth to the people at a high price, is in reality to deprive them of it: to wrest from them by a tax the natural means of preserving life, is in fact to affect the very principle of their existence. By extorting the subsistence of the needy, the state takes from him his strength with his food. It reduces the poor man to a state of beggary; and the labouring man to that of idleness; it makes the unfortunate man become a rogue; that is, it is the cause of bringing the man who is ready to starve to an untimely end, from the extreme distress to which he is reduced.

IF the imposts affect commodities less necessary, B O O K  
 how many hands lost to tillage and the arts are XIX.  
 employed not in guarding the bulwarks of the empire, but in crowding the kingdom with an infinite number of useless barriers; in embarrassing the gates of towns; infesting the highways and roads of commerce; and searching into cellars; granaries, and storehouses! What a state of war between prince and people, between subject and subject! How many prisons, gallies and gibbets prepared for a number of unhappy persons who have been urged on to fraudulent practices, to smuggling, and even to piracy by the iniquity of the revenue laws!

THE avidity of sovereigns has extended itself from the articles of consumption to those of traffic carried on from one state to another. Insatiable tyrants! Will ye never be sensible that if ye lay duties on what ye offer to the stranger, he will buy at a cheaper rate, he will give only the price demanded by other states: if even your own subjects were the sole proprietors of that produce you have taxed, they still would never be able to make other nations submit to such exactions; for in that case the demand would be for a less quantity, and the overplus would oblige them to lower the price, in order to find a sale for it.

THE duty on merchandise which one state receives from another, is not less unreasonable. The price of the goods being regulated by the competition of other countries, the duties will be paid  
 by



**B. O. O. K** by the subjects of that state which buys commodities for its neighbours. Possibly, the increase in the price of foreign produce may diminish the consumption of it. But if a less quantity of merchandise is sold to any country, a less quantity will be purchased of it. The profits of trade are to be estimated in proportion to the quantity of merchandise sold and bought. Commerce is in fact nothing more than an exchange of the value of one commodity for that of another. It is not possible then to oppose the course of these exchanges, without lowering the value of the productions that are sold, by restraining the sale of them.

**W. H. E. T. H. E. R.** therefore duties are laid on our own or on foreign merchandise, the industry of the subject will necessarily suffer by it. The means of payment will be fewer, and there will be less raw materials to work up. The greater diminution there is in the annual produce, the greater also will be the decrease of labour. Then all the laws that can be made against beggars will be ineffectual, for man must live on what is given him, if he cannot live by what he earns.

**B. U. T.** what then is the mode of taxation the most proper to conciliate the public interest with the rights of individuals? It is the land-tax. An impost is with respect to the person upon whom it is charged, an annual expence. It can only, therefore, be assessed on an annual revenue; for nothing but an annual revenue can discharge an annual expence. Now there never can be any annual

annual revenue, except that of the land. It is land BOOK only which returns yearly what has been bestowed XIX. upon it, with an additional profit that may be disposed of. It is but within these few years that we have begun to be sensible of this important truth. Some men of abilities will one day be able to demonstrate the evidence of it: and that government which first make this the foundation of its system, will necessarily be raised to a degree of prosperity unknown to all nations and all ages.

PERHAPS, there is no state in Europe at present whose situation admits of so great a change. The taxes are every where so heavy, the expences so multiplied, the wants so urgent, the treasury of the state in general so much indebted, that a sudden change in the mode of raising the public revenues, would infallibly alter the confidence and disturb the peace of the subject. But an enlightened and provident policy, will tend by slow and gradual steps towards so salutary an end. With courage and prudence it will remove every obstacle that prejudice, ignorance, and private interest might have to oppose to a system of administration, the advantages of which appear to us beyond all calculation.

IN order that nothing may lessen the benefits of this happy innovation, it will be necessary that all lands without distinction should be subjected to taxation. The public weal is a treasure in common, wherein every individual should deposit his tribute, his service, and his abilities. Names and titles

BOOK titles will never change the nature of men and  
 XIX. their possessions. It would be the utmost meanness  
 and folly to avail ourselves of distinctions received  
 from our ancestors, in order to withdraw ourselves  
 from the burthens of society. Every mark of  
 distinction that is not of general utility should be  
 considered as injurious, it can only be equitable;  
 when it is founded on a fixt resolution of devoting  
 our lives and fortunes in a more particular man-  
 ner to the service of our country.

IF in this age the tax were first laid on the land,  
 would it not necessarily be supposed that the con-  
 tribution should be proportioned to the extent  
 and value of the estates? Would any one dare to  
 alledge his employments, his services, his digni-  
 ties, in order to screen himself from the tributes  
 exacted by the public weal? What connection  
 have taxes with ranks, titles, and conditions?  
 They relate only to the revenue: and this belongs  
 to the state, as soon as it becomes necessary for the  
 public defence.

IT is not, however, sufficient that the impost  
 be equally divided; it is further necessary that it  
 be proportioned to the wants of government,  
 which are not always the same. War hath ever  
 required in all countries and in every age more  
 considerable expences than peace. The antients  
 made a provision for them by their oeconomy in  
 times of tranquillity. Since the advantages of cir-  
 culation and the principles of industry have been  
 better understood, the method of laying up specie  
 for



for this purpose has been proscribed; and that of B O O K imposing extraordinary taxes has been with reason XIX. preferred. Every state that should prohibit them would find itself obliged, in order to protract its fall, to have recourse to the methods made use of at Constantinople. The Sultan, who can do every thing but augment his revenues, is constrained to give up the empire to the extortions of his delegates, that he may afterwards deprive them of what they have plundered from his subjects.

THAT taxes may not be exorbitant, they should be ordered, regulated and administered by the representatives of the people. The impost has ever depended on, and must be proportioned to the property possessed. He that is not master of the produce is not master of the field. Tributes therefore among all nations have always been first imposed by the proprietors only; whether the lands were divided among the conquerors; or the clergy shared them with the nobles, or whether they passed by means of commerce and industry into the hands of the generality of the citizens. Every where, those who were in possession of the lands had reserved to themselves the natural, unalienable and sacred right, of not being taxed without their own consent. If we do not admit this principle, there is no longer any monarchy, or any nation; there is nothing remaining but a despotic master and a herd of slaves.

YE people, whose kings command every thing they please, read over again the history of your own country. Ye will see that your ancestors as-  
VOL. V. O osembled.

B O O K assembled themselves and deliberated whenever a  
 XIX. subsidy was in agitation. If this custom is neglected, the right is not lost; it is recorded in heaven, which has given the earth to mankind to possess: it is written on the field you have taken the pains to inclose, in order to secure to yourselves the enjoyment of it: it is written in your hearts, where the divinity has impressed the love of liberty. Man whose head is raised towards heaven was not made in the image of his creator to bow before man. No man is greater than another, but by the choice and consent of all. Ye courtiers, your greatness arises from your lands, and not from the power and state of your master. Be less ambitious, and ye will be richer. Do justice to your vassals, and ye will improve your fortunes by increasing the general happiness. What advantage can ye propose to yourselves in establishing a system of despotic government upon the ruins of liberty, virtue, benevolence and property? Consider that ye will all fall victims to this power. Around that formidable Colossus ye are no more than figures in bronze, representing the nations chained at the feet of a statue.

If the right of imposing taxes be in the prince alone, though it may not be for his interest to burden and oppress his people, yet they will be burdened and oppressed. The caprices, profusions and encroachments of the sovereign will no longer know any bounds when they meet with no obstacles. A false and cruel system of politics will soon persuade him that rich subjects will always

become insolent, that they must be distressed, in order to be reduced to subjection, and that poverty is the firmest rampart of the throne. He will proceed so far as to believe that every thing is at his disposal, that nothing belongs to his slaves, and that he does them a favour in every thing he leaves them.

THE government will appropriate to itself all the means and resources of industry; and will lay such restraints on the exports and imports of every article of trade, as will entirely absorb the profits arising from it. Commerce will be carried on by the means and for the benefit of the treasury. Cultivation will be neglected by mercenaries who can have no hopes of acquiring property. The nobility will serve in the army only for pay. The magistrate will give judgment only for the sake of his fees and his salary. Merchants will hoard up their fortunes in order to transport them out of a land where there is no spirit of patriotism, nor any security left. The nation, then losing all its importance, will conceive an indifference for its kings; will see its enemies only in those who are its masters; will be induced to hope that a change of master will tend to alleviate its servitude; will expect its deliverance from a revolution, and the restoration of its tranquillity from an entire overthrow of the state. Nothing need be added to this representation: let us now speak of a resource, which sovereigns turn to the ruin of their people: that is public credit.



BOOK XIX. IN general, what is called public credit, is only a delay allowed for payment. Credit then supposes a double confidence; confidence in the person who is in want of it, and confidence in his abilities to pay. The first is the most necessary. It is too common for a man in debt, who is destitute of honesty to break his engagements, though he is able to fulfil them; and to dissipate his fortune by irregularity and extravagance. But the sensible and honest man, may by a variety of schemes well conducted, acquire or replace the means that have failed him for a time.

Public credit.

THE chief end of commerce is consumption; but before the commodities have reached the places where they were to be consumed, a considerable time often passes, and great expences must be incurred. If the merchant is compelled to make his purchases with ready money, commerce will necessarily decline. The seller as well as the buyer will be equally sufferers by it. These considerations have given rise to private credit among the individuals of one society, or even of several societies. It differs from public credit in this particular, that the latter is the credit of a whole nation considered as forming one single body.

BETWEEN public and private credit there is also this difference, that profit is the end of the one, and expence of the other. From hence it follows that credit is gain with respect to the merchant; because it furnishes him with the means of acquiring riches; but with respect to governments it

is one cause of impoverishing them, since it only B O O K supplies them with the means of ruining them- XIX. selves. A state that borrows, alienates a portion of its revenue for a capital which it spends. It is then poorer after having thus borrowed, than it was before it had recourse to that destructive expedient. Notwithstanding the scarcity of gold and silver, the governments in former ages were unacquainted with public credit, even in the periods of the most fatal and critical events. They formed during peace a stock that was reserved for times of distress. The specie being by this method circulated afresh, excited industry and alleviated, in some measure, the inevitable calamities of war. Since the discovery of the new world has made gold and silver more common, those who have had the administration of public affairs have generally engaged in enterprises above the abilities of the people they governed; and have not scrupled to burthen posterity with debts they had ventured to contract. That system of oppression has been continued; it will affect the latest generations, and oppress all nations and all ages.

THE use of public credit, though ruinous to every state, is not equally so to all. A nation that has several valuable productions of its own; whose revenue is entirely free; which has always fulfilled its engagements; nor has been ambitious of making conquests; and which is not dependent upon a foreign power for its government: such a nation

BOOK XIX. will raise money at an easier rate, than a state whose soil is not fertile; whose debts are considerable, and which engages in undertakings beyond its strength; which has deceived its creditors, and groans beneath an arbitrary power. The lender, who of course imposes the law, will always proportion the terms to the risques he must run. Thus, a people, whose finances are in a state of confusion, will soon fall into the utmost distress by public credit: but even the best regulated government, will also experience a decline in its prosperity from it.

BUT, some political arithmeticians have asserted that it is advantageous to invite the specie of other nations into that of your own country: and that public funds produce that important effect. It is certain that it is a method of attracting the specie of other nations, but merely, as if it were obtained by the sale of one or more provinces of the empire. Perhaps, it would be a more rational practice to deliver up the soil to them, than to cultivate it solely for their use.

BUT if the state borrowed only of its own subjects, the national revenue would not be given up to foreigners. It certainly would not: but the state would impoverish some of its members, in order to enrich one individual. Must not taxes be increased in proportion to the interest that is to be paid, and the capital that is to be replaced? Will not the proprietors of lands, the husbandmen and every citizen find the burden greater, than if all

the



the money borrowed by the state had been de- B O O K  
 manded from them at once? Their situation is the XIX.  
 same, as if they themselves had borrowed it, in-  
 stead of retrenching from their ordinary expences  
 as much as might enable them to supply an acci-  
 dental charge.

But the paper-currency which is introduced by  
 the loans made to government, increases the quan-  
 tity of wealth in circulation, gives a great exten-  
 sion to trade, and facilitates every commercial  
 operation. Infatuated men! Reflect on the dan-  
 gerous consequences of your political system. Ex-  
 tend it only as far as possible; let the state borrow  
 all it can; load it with interest; and by these  
 means reduce it to the necessity of straining every  
 tax to the utmost; ye will soon find that with all  
 the wealth you may have in circulation, ye will  
 have no fresh supply for the purposes of consump-  
 tion and trade. Money, and the paper which re-  
 presents it, do not circulate of themselves, nor  
 without the assistance of other means. All the  
 different signs introduced in lieu of coin, acquire  
 a value only proportionate to the number of sales  
 and purchases that are made. Let all Europe, if  
 you please be filled with gold; if there is no mer-  
 chandise for traffic, that gold will have no cur-  
 rency. Increase only the articles of commerce,  
 and be not concerned with regard to these repre-  
 sentations of wealth; mutual confidence and ne-  
 cessity will soon occasion them to be established  
 without your assistance. But let your care be

B O O K principally directed in preventing their increase  
 XIX. by such means as must necessarily diminish the  
 mass of your growing produce.

BUT the use of public credit enables one power to give the law to others. Will mankind never perceive that this resource is in common to all nations? If it be a general mode by which a state may obtain a superiority over its enemies, may it not be serviceable to them for the same purposes? Will not the credit of the two nations be in proportion to their respective wealth? and will they not be ruined without having any other advantages over one another than those they were in possession of, independent of every loan? When I see monarchs and empires furiously attacking and waging war against each other with all their debts, with their public funds, and their revenues already deeply mortgaged, it seems to me, says a philosophical writer, as if I saw men fighting with clubs in a potter's shop surrounded with porcelain.

It would, perhaps, be presumptuous to affirm, that in no circumstance whatsoever the public service can ever require an alienation of part of the public revenues. The scenes that disturb the world are so various; governments are exposed to such extraordinary revolutions; the field of events is so extensive; political intrigues occasion such amazing changes in public affairs, that it is not within the reach of human wisdom to foresee and calculate every circumstance. But in this point, it is the common practice of governments, which we  
 are

are discussing, and not a particular situation which in all probability may never present itself.

B O O K  
XIX.

EVERY state which will not be diverted from the ruinous course of loans by such considerations as we have just been offering, will be the cause of its own destruction. The facility of acquiring large sums of money at once, will engage a government in every kind of unreasonable, rash and expensive undertaking; will make it mortgage its future expectations for present exigencies, and game with the present stock to acquire future supplies. One loan will bring on another, and to accelerate the last, the interest will be more and more raised.

THIS irregularity will cause the fruits of industry to pass into some idle hands. The facility of obtaining every enjoyment without labour, will induce every person of fortune, as well as all vicious and intriguing men to resort to the capital; who will bring with them a train of servants, borrowed from the plough; of young girls deprived of their innocence and of their rights of marriage; of subjects of both sexes devoted to luxury: all of them the instruments, the victims, the objects, or the sport of indolence and voluptuousness.

THE seducing attraction of public debts will spread more and more. When men can reap the fruits of the earth without labour, every individual will engage in that species of employment which is at once lucrative and easy. Proprietors of land and merchants will all turn annuitants.

Money



BOOK

Money is converted into paper currency established  
 XIX. by the state, because it is more portable than  
 } specie, less subject to alteration from time, and  
 less liable to the injury of seasons, and the rapacity  
 of the farmers of the revenue. The preference  
 given to the representative paper above the real  
 specie or commodity, will be injurious to agricul-  
 ture, trade, and industry. As the state always  
 expends what has been wrongfully acquired in an  
 improper manner, in proportion as its debts in-  
 crease, the taxes must be raised in order to pay  
 the interest. Thus all the active and useful classes  
 of society are plundered and exhausted by the idle  
 useless class of annuitants. The increase of taxes  
 raises the price of commodities, and consequently  
 that of industry. By these means, consumption  
 is lessened; because exportation ceases as soon as  
 merchandize is too dear to stand the competition of  
 other nations. Land and manufactures are equally  
 affected.

THE inability the state then finds in itself to an-  
 swer its engagements, forces it to extricate itself  
 by bankruptcy; a method the most destructive of  
 the freedom of the people, and of the power of  
 the sovereign. This fatal crisis of empires, by  
 which the fortunes of every individual are ruined,  
 will at length become necessary; by which, the  
 property of the creditor will be violently seized  
 upon, after every public fund has been absorbed  
 in usurious interest, and in edicts for loans; by  
 which, the monarch after having entered into the  
 most

most solemn engagements, will be obliged to sub-B O O K  
 mit to the disgrace of breaking them ; by which, XIX.  
 the oaths of the prince and the rights of his sub-  
 jects are equally forfeited ; by which, the surest  
 basis of all government, public confidence will be  
 irrecoverably lost.—Such is the end of loans, from  
 whence we may judge of the principles on which  
 they are founded.

AFTER having examined the springs and sup-Fine arts  
and Belles  
Lettres.  
 port of every civilized society, let us take a view  
 of the ornaments and decorations of the political  
 edifice. These are the fine arts, and polite lite-  
 rature. Two celebrated people raised themselves  
 by works of genius to a height of reputation  
 which they will ever enjoy, and which will always  
 reflect honour on the human species.

CHRISTIANITY, after having demolished in Eu-  
 rope all the idols of Pagan antiquity, preserved  
 some of the arts to assist the powers of persuasion,  
 and to favour the preaching of the gospel. But in  
 the place of a religion embellished with the gay  
 divinities of Greece and Rome, it erected monu-  
 ments of terror and gloominess, suited to the tragic  
 events which signalized its birth and progress.  
 The Gothic ages have left us some monuments, the  
 boldness and majesty of which still strike the eye  
 amidst the ruins of taste and elegance. Every one  
 of their temples was built in the shape of the cross,  
 covered with a cross, filled with crucifixes, decorated  
 with horrid and gloomy images, with scaffolds, tor-  
 tures, martyrs, and executioners.

BOOK  
XIX.

WHAT then was the progress of the arts, condemned as they were to terrify the imagination by continual spectacles of blood, death, and future punishments? They became as hideous as the models they were formed upon, barbarous as the princes and pontiffs that encouraged them, mean and base as those who worshipped the productions of them; they terrified children in their very cradles; they aggravated the horrors of the grave by an eternal perspective of terrible shades; they spread melancholy over the whole face of the earth.

At length the period arrived for lessening those scaffoldings of religion and social policy. The fine arts returned with literature from Greece into Italy by the Mediterranean, which maintained the commerce between Asia and Europe. The Huns, under the name of Goths, had driven them from Rome to Constantinople; and the very same people, under the name of Turks, expelled them again from Constantinople to Rome. That city, destined as it was to rule by force or by stratagem, cultivated and revived the arts, which had been a long time buried in oblivion.

WALLS, columns, statues, vases, were drawn forth from the dust of ages, and from the ruins of Italy, to serve as models of the fine arts at their revival. The genius which presides over design raised three of the arts at once; I mean architecture, sculpture and painting. Architecture, in which convenience itself regulated those proportions



ons of symmetry that contribute to give pleasure BOOK  
 to the eye ; sculpture, which flatters princes, and XIX.  
 is the reward of great men ; and painting, which }  
 perpetuates the remembrance of noble actions, and  
 the examples of mutual tenderness. Italy alone  
 had more superb cities, more magnificent edifices  
 than all the rest of Europe. Rome, Florence and  
 Venice gave rise to three schools of original paint-  
 ers : so much does genius depend upon the imagi-  
 nation, and imagination upon the climate. Had  
 Italy possessed the treasures of Mexico, and the  
 produce of Asia, how much more would the arts  
 have been enriched by the discovery of the East  
 and West Indies.

THAT country, of old so fruitful in heroes, and  
 since in artists, beheld literature, which is the  
 inseparable companions of the arts, flourish a se-  
 cond time. It had been overwhelmed by the bar-  
 barism of a latinity corrupted and disfigured by  
 religious enthusiasm. A mixture of Egyptian the-  
 ology, Grecian philosophy, and Hebrew poetry ;  
 such was the Latin language in the mouths of  
 Monks, who chanted all night, and taught by day  
 things and words they did not understand.

THE mythology of the Romans revived in li-  
 terature the graces of antiquity. The spirit of  
 imitation borrowed them at first indiscriminately.  
 Custom introduced taste in the choice of those rich  
 treasures. The Italian genius, too fertile not to  
 invent, blended its enthusiasm and caprice with  
 the rules and examples with its old masters, and  
 joined

BOOK joined even the fictions of fairy land with those  
 XIX. of fable. The works of imagination partook of  
 the manners of the age and of the national character. Petrarch had drawn that celestial virgin, beauty, which served as a model for the heroines of chivalry. Armida was the emblem of the coquetry which reigned in her time in Italy. Ariosto confounded every species of poetry, in a work, which may rather be called the labyrinth of poetry, than a regular poem. That author will stand alone in the history of literature, like the enchanted palaces of his own construction in the deserts.

LETTERS and arts, after crossing the sea, passed the Alps. In the same manner as the Crusades had brought the oriental romances into Italy, the wars of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. introduced into France some principles of good literature. Francis I. if he had not been into Italy in order to contend for the Milanese with Charles V. would never, perhaps, have been ambitious of the title of *the Father of letters*: but these seeds of knowledge and improvement in the arts were lost in the religious wars. They were recovered again, if I may be allowed the expression, in scenes of war and destruction: and the time came when they were again to revive and flourish. Italy was as much distinguished in the 16th century, as France was in the succeeding one, which by the victories of Lewis XIV. or rather by the genius of the great men that flourished together under his reign, deserves

serves to make an epocha in the history of the fine **B O O K**  
arts.

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IN France, all the powers of the human mind were at once exerted in producing works of genius, as they had before been in Italy. Its powers were displayed in the marble, and on the canvas, in public edifices and gardens; as well as in eloquence and poetry. Every thing was submitted to its influence, not only the liberal arts which require manual labour, but those also which depend solely on the mind. Every thing bore the stamp of genius. The colours displayed in natural objects animated the works of imagination; and the human passions enlivened the designs of the pencil. Man gave spirit to matter, and body to spirit. But it deserves to be particularly observed that this happened at a time when a passion for glory animated the nation, great and powerful as it was by its situation, and the extent of its empire. The sense of honour which raised it in its own estimation, and which then distinguished it in the eyes of all Europe, was its soul, its instinct, and supplied the place of that liberty which had formerly given rise to the arts of genius in the republics of Greece and Rome, had revived them in that of Florence, and compelled them to flourish on the bleak and cloudy borders of the Thames.

WHAT would not genius have effected in France, had it been under the influence of laws only, when its exertions were so great under the dominion of  
the



BOOK the most absolute of kings! When we see what  
XIX. energy patriotism has given to the English, in spite  
of the inactivity of their climate, we may judge  
what it might have produced among the French,  
where a most mild temperature of season leads a  
people, naturally sensible and lively, to invention  
and enjoyment. We may conceive what its effects  
would have been in a country, where, as in antient  
Greece, are to be found men of active and lively  
genius, fitted for invention, from being warmed  
by the most powerful and enlivening rays of the  
sun; where there are men strong and robust in a  
climate, in which even the cold excites to labour:  
in which we meet with temperate provinces be-  
tween north and south; sea-ports together with  
navigable rivers; vast plains abounding in corn;  
hills loaded with vineyards and fruits of all sorts;  
salt pits which may be increased at pleasure; pas-  
tures covered with horses; mountains clothed with  
the finest woods; a country every where peopled  
with laborious hands, which are the first resources  
for subsistence; the common materials for the arts,  
and the superfluities of luxury; in a word, where  
we meet with the commerce of Athens, the in-  
dustry of Corinth, the soldiery of Sparta, and the  
flocks of Arcadia. With all these advantages,  
which Greece once possessed, France might have  
carried the fine arts to as great a height as that  
parent of genius, had she been subject to the same  
laws, and given a scope to the same exercise of  
reason

reason and liberty, by which great men, and the rulers of powerful nations are produced.

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NEXT to the superiority of legislation among modern nations, to raise them to an equality with the ancients in works of genius, there has, perhaps, been wanting only an improvement in language. The Italian, with tone, accent, and numbers, is peculiarly adapted to express all the images of poetry, and convey all the delightful impressions of music. These two arts have consecrated this language to the harmony of sound, it being the most proper to express it.

THE French language holds the superiority in prose; if it is not the language of the Gods, it is, at least, that of reason and truth. Prose is peculiarly adapted to convince the understanding in philosophical researches. It enlightens the mind of those whom nature has blessed with superior talents, who seem placed between princes and their subjects to instruct and direct mankind. At a period when liberty has no longer her tribunes, nor amphitheatres, to excite commotions in vast assemblies of the people, a language which spreads itself in books, which is read in all countries, which serves as the common interpreter of all other languages, and as the vehicle of all sorts of ideas: a language ennobled, refined, softened, and above all, fixed by the genius of writers, and the polish of courts, becomes at length universally prevailing.

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XIX. THE English language has likewise had its poets and its prose-writers, that have gained it the character of energy and boldness, sufficient to render it immortal. May it be learned among all nations that aspire not to be slaves. They will dare to think, act, and govern themselves. It is not the language of words, but of ideas; and the English have none but such as are strong and forcible; they are the first who ever made use of the expression, *the majesty of the people*, and that alone is sufficient to consecrate a language.

THE Spaniards have hitherto properly had neither prose nor verse, though they have a language formed to excel in both. Brilliant and sonorous as pure gold, its pronunciation is grave and regular like the dances of that nation: it is grand and decent like the manners of ancient chivalry. This language may claim some distinction, and even acquire a superior degree of perfection, whenever there shall be found in it many such writers as Cervantes and Mariana. When its academy shall have put to silence the inquisition and its universities, that language will raise itself to great ideas, and to sublime truths, to which it is invited by the natural pride of the people who speak it.

PRIOR to all other living languages is the German, that mother tongue, that original native language of Europe. From thence the English and French too have been formed, by the mixture of the German with the Latin. However, as it seems little calculated to please the eye, or to be



pronounced by delicate organs, it has been spoken B O O K  
 only by the people, and has been introduced but XIX.  
 of late into books. The few writers that have ap-  
 peared in it seemed to shew that it belonged to a  
 country where the fine arts, poetry and eloquence  
 were not destined to flourish. But on a sudden,  
 genius has exerted her powers, and originals in  
 more than one species of poetry, have appeared  
 in pretty considerable numbers, sufficient to enter  
 into competition with other nations.

LANGUAGES could not be cultivated and refined  
 to a certain degree, but the arts of every kind  
 must at the same time acquire an equal degree of  
 perfection; and indeed the monuments of these  
 arts have so much increased throughout Europe,  
 that the barbarism of succeeding people and of  
 future ages will find it difficult entirely to destroy  
 them.

BUT as commotions and revolutions are so na-  
 tural to mankind, there is only wanting some  
 glowing genius, some enthusiast to set the world  
 again in flames. The people of the east, or of the  
 north, are still ready to enslave and plunge all Eu-  
 rope into its former darkness. Would not an ir-  
 ruption of Tartars or Africans into Italy, be suffi-  
 cient to overturn churches, and palaces, to con-  
 found in one general ruin the idols of religion, and  
 the master-pieces of art? And as we are so much  
 attached to these works of luxury, we should have  
 the less spirit to defend them. A city, which it  
 has cost two centuries to decorate, is burnt and

B O O K ravaged in a single day. Perhaps, with one stroke  
 XIX. of his axe, a Tartar may dash in pieces the statue  
 of Voltaire, that Pigalle could not finish within the  
 compass of ten years; and we still labour for im-  
 mortality; vain atoms that we are. Ye nations,  
 whether artisans or soldiers, what are ye in the  
 hands of nature, but the sport of her laws, destined  
 by turns to set dust in motion, and to reduce the  
 work again to dust.

BUT it is by means of the arts that man enjoys  
 his existence, and survives himself.—Ages of ig-  
 norance never emerge from their oblivion. There  
 remains no more trace of them after their exist-  
 ence, than before they began to exist. There is no  
 possibility of indicating the place or time of their  
 passage, nor can we mark on the ground belonging  
 to a barbarous people, *it is here they lived*; for  
 they leave not even ruins to lead us to collect that  
 they have ever existed. It is invention alone that  
 gives man power over matter and time. The ge-  
 nius of Homer has rendered the Greek characters  
 indelible. Harmony and reason have placed the  
 eloquence of Cicero above the sacred orators. The  
 pontiffs themselves, polished and enlightened by  
 the information and attractive influence of the arts,  
 by being admirers and protectors of them, have  
 assisted the human mind to break the chains of su-  
 perstition. Commerce has hastened the progress  
 of art by means of the luxury which wealth has  
 diffused. All the efforts of the mind and the ex-  
 ertions of manual labour have been united to  
 improve

improve and render more perfect the condition of B O O K  
 the human species. Industry and invention, together with the enjoyments procured by the new XIX.  
 world, have penetrated as far as the polar circle, and the fine arts are attempting to rise superior to the obstacles of nature even at Peterburgh.

To the train of letters and fine arts philosophy Philosophy.  
 is annexed, which one would imagine ought rather to direct them: but appearing later than they did can only be considered as their attendant. Arts arise from the very necessities of mankind in the earliest state of the human mind. Letters are the flowers of its youth: children of the imagination, being themselves fond of ornament, they decorate every thing they approach: and this turn for embellishment produces what are properly called the fine arts or the arts of luxury and elegance, which give the polish to the primary arts of necessity. It is then we see the winged genii of sculpture fluttering over the porticos of architecture; and the genii of painting entering palaces, representing the heavens upon a cieling, sketching out upon wool and silk all the animated scenes of rural life, and tracing to the mind upon canvas the useful truths of history as well as the agreeable chimeras of fable.

WHEN the mind has been employed on the pleasures of the imagination and of the senses, when governments have arrived to a degree of maturity, reason arises and bestows on the nations a certain turn for reflection; this is the age of philosophy.



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XIX. She advances with gradual steps and proceeds silently along, announcing the decline of empires which she attempts in vain to support. She closed the latter ages of the celebrated republics of Greece and Rome. Athens had no philosophers till the eve of her ruin, which they seemed to foretell; Cicero and Lucretius did not compose their writings on the nature of the gods, and the system of the world, till the confusion of the civil wars arose, and hastened the destruction of liberty.

THALES, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras had however laid the foundations of natural philosophy in the theories of the elements of matter; but the rage of forming systems successively subverted these several principles. Socrates then appeared, who brought back philosophy to the principles of true wisdom and virtue: it was that alone he loved, practised and taught; persuaded that morality and not science was conducive to the happiness of man. Plato, his disciple, though a natural philosopher and instructed in the mysteries of nature by his travels into Egypt, ascribed every thing to the soul, and scarce any thing to nature; he confounded philosophy with theological speculations, and the knowledge of the universe with the ideas of the divinity. Aristotle, the disciple of Plato, turned his inquiries less on the nature of the deity, than on that of man, and of animals. His natural history has been transmitted to posterity, though his system was little adopted by the people of his age. Epicurus, who lived nearly  
about

about the same period, revived the atoms of De-BOOK  
 mocritus, a system, which doubtless balanced that XIX.  
 of the four elements of Aristotle, and as these }  
 were the two prevailing systems at that time, no  
 improvements were made in natural philosophy.  
 The moral philosophers engaged the attention of  
 the people who understood their system better than  
 that of the natural philosopher. They established  
 schools; for as soon as opinions gain a degree  
 of reputation, parties are immediately formed to  
 support them.

IN these circumstances, Greece agitated by in-  
 terior commotions after having been torn with an  
 intestine war, was subjected by Macedon, and  
 its government dissolved by Rome. Then public  
 calamities turned the hearts and understandings of  
 men to morality. Zeno and Democritus, who had  
 been only natural philosophers, became, a consi-  
 derable time after their death, the heads of two  
 sects of moral philosophers, more addicted to the-  
 ology than physics, rather casuists than philoso-  
 phers; or it might rather be affirmed that phi-  
 losophy was given up and confined entirely to the  
 sophists. The Romans, who had borrowed every  
 thing from the Greeks, made no discoveries in the  
 true system of philosophy. Among the ancients  
 it made little progress; because it was entirely  
 confined to morality: among the moderns its first  
 steps have been more fortunate, because they have  
 been guided by the light of natural knowledge.

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WE must not reckon the interval of near a thousand years, during which period philosophy, science, arts and letters, were buried in the ruins of the Roman empire, among the ashes of Italy, and the dust of the cloysters. In Asia their monuments were still preserved though not attended to, and in Europe some fragments of them remained which she did not know. The world, was divided into Christian and Mohammedan, and every where covered with the blood of nations: ignorance alone triumphed under the standard of the cross or the crescent. Before these dreaded signs, every knee was bent, every spirit trembled. Philosophy continued in a state of infancy, pronouncing only the names of God and of the soul: her attention was solely engaged on matters of which she should for ever remain ignorant. Time, argument and all her application was wasted on questions that were, at least, idle; questions, for the most part, void of sense, not to be defined, and not to be determined from the nature of their object; and which, therefore, proved an eternal source of disputes, schisms, sects, hatred, persecution, and national as well as religious wars.

IN the mean time, the Arabs after their conquests carried away as it were in triumph, the spoils of genius and philosophy. Aristotle fell into their hands, preserved from the ruins of ancient Greece. These destroyers of empires had some sciences of which they had been the inventors;  
among



among which arithmetic is to be numbered. By B O O K  
 the knowledge of astronomy and geometry they XIX.  
 discovered the coasts of Africa which they laid  
 waste and peopled again; and they were always  
 great proficient in medicine. That science  
 which has, perhaps, no greater recommendation  
 in its favour, than its affinity with chymistry and  
 natural knowledge, rendered them as celebrated  
 as astrology, which is another support of empirical  
 imposition. Avicenna and Averroës, who were  
 equally skilled in physic, mathematics and philo-  
 sophy, preserved the tradition of true science by  
 translations and commentaries. But let us ima-  
 gine what must become of Aristotle, translated  
 from Greek into Arabic, and after that, from  
 Arabic into Latin, under the hands of monks,  
 who wanted to adapt the philosophy of paganism  
 to the systems of Moses and Christ. This confu-  
 sion of opinions, ideas and language stopped for a  
 considerable time the progress of science, and the  
 reducing of it into a regular system. The divine  
 overturned the materials brought by the philoso-  
 pher, who sapped the very foundations laid by his  
 rival. However, with a few stones from one, and  
 much sand from the other, some wretched archi-  
 tects raised a strange Gothic monument, called  
 the philosophy of the schools. Continually  
 amended, renewed, and supported from age to  
 age, by Irish or Spanish metaphysicians, it main-  
 tained itself till about the time of the discovery of  
 the

BOOK the new world, which was destined to change the  
 XIX. face of the old one.

LIGHT sprang from the midst of darkness. An English monk applied himself to the practice of chymistry, and paving the way for the invention of gun-powder, which was to bring America into subjection to Europe, opened the avenues of true science by experimental philosophy. Thus philosophy issued out of the cloyster, where ignorance remained. When Boccacio had exposed the debauched lives of the regular and secular clergy, Galileo ventured to form conjectures upon the figure of the earth. Superstition was alarmed at it, and its clamours as well as its menaces were heard: but philosophy tore off the mask from the monster, and rent the veil under which truth had been hidden. The weakness and falsehood of popular opinions was perceived, on which society was then founded; but in order to put an effectual stop to error, it was necessary to be acquainted with the laws of nature, and the causes of her various phænomena: and that was the object philosophy had in view.

As soon as Copernicus was dead, after he had, by the power of reason, conjectured that the sun was in the center of our world, Galileo arose, and confirmed by the invention of the telescope the true system of astronomy, which either had been unknown, or lay in oblivion ever since Pythagoras had conceived it. While Gassendi was reviving the elements of antient philosophy, or the atoms

of Epicurus, Descartes imagined and combined B O O K the elements of a new philosophy, or his ingenious and subtile vortexes. XIX. Almost about the same time, Toricelli invented, at Florence, the thermometer to determine the weight of the air; Pascal measured the height of the mountains of Auvergne, and Boyle in England verified and confirmed the various experiments of both.

DESCARTES had taught the art of doubting, in order to undeceive the mind previous to instruction. The method of doubting proposed by him was the grand instrument of science, and the most signal service that could be rendered to the human mind under the darkness which surrounded it, and the chains which fettered it. Bayle, by applying that method to opinions the best authorised by the sanction of time and power, has made us sensible of its importance.

CHANCELLOR Bacon, a philosopher, but unsuccessful at court, as friar Bacon had been in the cloyster, like him the harbinger rather than the establisher of the new philosophy, had protested equally against the prejudice of the senses and the schools, as against those phantoms he stiled the idols of the understanding. He had foretold truths he could not discover. In conformity to the result of his reasoning, which might be considered as oracular, while experimental philosophy was discovering facts, rational philosophy was in search of causes. Both contributed to the study of mathematics, which were to guide the efforts of the mind



mind and insure their success. It was, in fact, the science of algebra applied to geometry, and the application of geometry to natural philosophy, which made Newton conjecture the true system of the world. Upon taking a view of the heavens, he perceived in the fall of bodies to the earth, and in the motions of the heavenly bodies, a certain analogy which implied an universal principle, differing from impulsion, the only visible cause of all their movements. From the study of astronomy he next applied himself to that of optics, and this led him to conjecture the origin of light; and the experiments which he made in consequence of this inquiry, reduced it into a system.

At the time when Descartes died, Newton and Leibnitz were but just born, who were to finish, correct and bring to perfection what he had begun, that is to say, the establishing of sound philosophy. These two men alone greatly contributed to its quick and rapid progress. One carried the knowledge of God and the soul, as far as reason could lead it; and the unsuccessfulness of his attempts undeceived the human mind for ever with respect to such false systems of metaphysics. The other extended the principles of natural philosophy and the mathematics much further than the genius of many ages had been able to carry them, and pointed out the road to truth. At the same time Locke attacked scientific prejudices even into the intrenchments of the schools: he dissipated all those phantoms of the imagination, which Mallebranche


suf-

suffered to spring up again, after he had pointed out their absurdity, because he did not attack the foundation on which they were supported.

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BUT we are not to suppose that philosophers alone have discovered and imagined every thing. It is the course of events which has given a certain tendency to the actions and thoughts of mankind. A complication of natural or moral causes, a gradual improvement in politics joined to the progress of study and of the sciences, a combination of circumstances which it was as impossible to hasten as to foresee, must have contributed to the revolution that has prevailed in the understandings of men. Among nations as among individuals, the body and soul act and re-act alternately upon each other. Popular opinions infect even philosophers, and philosophers are guides to the people. Galileo had asserted, that as the earth turned round the sun, there must be antipodes; and Drake proved the fact, by a voyage round the world. The church styled itself universal, and the Pope called himself master of the earth: and yet more than two thirds of its inhabitants did not so much as know there was any catholic religion, and particularly that there was a pope. Europeans, who have travelled and trafficked every where, taught Europe that one portion of the globe adopted the visionary opinions of Mohammed, and a still larger one lived in the darkness of idolatry, or in the total ignorance and unenlightened state of atheism. Thus philosophy extended the empire of human knowledge

BOOK knowledge, by the discovery of the errors of superstition, and of the truths of nature.

XIX.  ITALY, whose impatient genius penetrated through the obstacles that surrounded it, was the first that founded an academy of natural philosophy. France and England, who were to aggrandize themselves even by their competition, raised at one time two everlasting monuments to the improvement of philosophy: two academies from whence all the learned of Europe draw their information, and in which they deposit all their stores of knowledge. From hence have been brought to light a great number of the mysterious points in nature; experiments, phenomena, discoveries in the arts and sciences, the secrets of electricity, and the causes of the Aurora Borealis. Hence have proceeded the instruments and means of purifying air on board of ships, for making sea water fit to be drunk; for determining the figure of the earth, and ascertaining the longitudes; for improving agriculture, and for producing more grain with less seed and less labour.

ARISTOTLE had reigned ten centuries in all the schools of Europe; and the christians, after losing the guidance of reason, were able to recover it again only by following his example. Their implicit attachment to that philosopher had for a considerable time caused them to err, in blindly following him through the darkness of theology. But at length Descartes pointed out the way, and Newton supplied the power of extricating them out  
of



of that labyrinth. Doubt had dissipated preju- **BOOK**  
 dices, and the method of analysis had found out **XIX.**  
 the truth. After the two Bacons, Galileo and }  
 Descartes, Locke and Bayle, Leibnitz and New-  
 ton, after the memoirs of the academies of Flo-  
 rence and Leipzig, of Paris and London, there  
 still remained a great work to be composed, in  
 order to perpetuate the sciences and philosophy.  
 This work has now appeared.

THIS book, which contains all the errors and  
 all the truths that have issued from the human  
 mind from the doctrines of theology to the specu-  
 lations on insects; which contains an account of  
 every work of the hands of men from a ship to a  
 pin; this repository of the intelligence of all na-  
 tions, will, in future ages, characterise that of  
 philosophy, which after so many advantages pro-  
 cured to mankind ought to be considered as a di-  
 vinity on earth. It is she who unites, enlightens,  
 aids and comforts mankind. She bestows every  
 thing upon them, without exacting any worship  
 in return. She requires of them, not the sacrifice  
 of their passions, but a reasonable, useful and mo-  
 derate exercise of all their faculties. Daughter  
 of nature, dispenser of her gifts, interpreter of  
 her rights, she consecrates her intelligence and her  
 labour to the use of man. She renders him bet-  
 ter, that he may be happier. She detests only  
 tyranny and imposture, because they oppress man-  
 kind. She does not desire to rule, but she exacts  
 of such as govern, to consider public happiness as  
 the

B O O K the only source of their enjoyment. She avoids  
 XIX. contests, and the name of sects, but she tolerates  
 them all. The blind and the wicked calumniate  
 her; the former are afraid of perceiving their errors, and the latter of having them detected. Ungrateful children, who rebel against a tender mother, when she wishes to free them from their errors and vices which occasion the calamities of mankind!

LIGHT, however, spreads insensibly over a more extensive horizon. Literature has formed a kind of empire which prepares the way for making Europe be considered as one single republican power. In truth, if philosophy is ever enabled to insinuate itself into the minds of sovereigns or their ministers, the system of politics will be improved, and rendered simple. Humanity will be more regarded in all plans; the public good will enter into negotiations, not merely as an expression, but as an object of utility even to kings.

PRINTING has already made such a progress that it can never be put a stop to in any state without lowering the people in order to advance the authority of government. Books enlighten the body of the people, humanise the great, are the delight of the leisure hours of the rich, and inform all the classes of society. The sciences bring to perfection the different branches of political œconomy. Even the errors of systematical persons are dispelled by the productions of the press, because  
 reasoning

reasoning and discussion try them by the test of BOOK  
truth. XIX.

AN intercourse of knowledge is become necessary for industry, and literature alone maintains that communication. The reading of a voyage round the world has, perhaps, occasioned more attempts of that kind; for interest alone cannot find the means of enterprise. At present nothing can be cultivated without some study, or without the knowledge that has been handed down and diffused by reading. Princes themselves have not recovered their rights from the usurpations of the clergy, but by the assistance of that knowledge which has undeceived the people with respect to the abuses of all spiritual power.

BUT it would be the greatest folly of the human mind to have employed all its powers to increase the authority of kings, and to break the several chains that held it in subjection, in order to become the slave of despotism. The same courage that religion inspires to withdraw conscience from the tyranny exercised over opinion, the honest man, the citizen, and friend of the people ought to maintain to free the nations from the tyranny of such powers as conspire against the liberty of mankind. Unhappy is that state in which there is not to be found one single defender of the public rights of the nation. The kingdom, with all its riches, its trade, its nobles, and its citizens must soon fall into unavoidable anarchy. It is the laws that are to save a nation from destruction, and the  
VOL. V.
Q q
freedom



B O O K freedom of writing is to support and present laws.

XIX. But what is the foundation and bulwark of the  
 laws? It is morality.

Morals.

THERE are whole libraries of morality. What a number of useless and even pernicious books! They are, in general, the work of priests and their disciples, who not chusing to see that religion should consider men only in the relations they stand in to the divinity, it became necessary to look for another ground for the relations they bear to one another. If there is an universal system of morality, it cannot be the effect of a particular cause. It has been the same in past ages, and it will continue the same in future times; it cannot then be grounded on religious opinions, which ever since the beginning of the world, and from one pole to the other, have continually varied. Greece had vicious deities, the Romans had them likewise: the senseless worshipper of the Fetiche adores rather a devil than a God. Every people made gods for themselves, and gave them such attributes as they pleased: to some they ascribed goodness, to others cruelty, to some immorality, to others the greatest sanctity and severity of manners. One would imagine that every nation intended to deify its own passions and opinions: Notwithstanding that diversity in religious systems and modes of worship, all nations have perceived that men ought to be just: they have all honoured as virtues, goodness, pity, friendship, fidelity, paternal tenderness, filial respect,

spect, sincerity, gratitude, patriotism; in short all those sentiments that can be considered as so many ties adapted to unite men more closely to one another. The origin of that uniformity of judgment so constant, so general, ought not then to be looked for in the midst of contradictory and fluctuating opinions. If the ministers of religion have appeared to think otherwise, it is because by their system they were enabled to regulate all the actions of mankind; to dispose of their fortunes; and command their wills; and to secure to themselves in the name of Heaven the arbitrary government of the world—the veil is now removed.

AT the tribunal of philosophy and reason, morality is a science whose object is the preservation and common happiness of the human species. To this double end all its rules ought to tend. Their natural, constant, eternal principle is in man himself, and in a resemblance there is in the general organization of man which includes a similarity of wants, of pleasures, and pains, of force and weakness; a resemblance from whence arises the necessity of society, or of a common opposition against such dangers as are equally incident to each individual, which proceed from nature herself, and threaten man on all sides. Such is the origin of particular duties and of domestic virtues; such is the origin of general duties and public virtues; such is the source of the notion of personal and public utility, the source of all compacts between individuals, and of all laws of government.

BOOK

XIX. SEVERAL writers have endeavoured to trace the first principles of morality in the sentiments of friendship, tenderness, compassion, honour, and benevolence; because they found them engraven on the human heart. But did they not also find there hatred, jealousy, revenge, pride, and the love of dominion? For what reason therefore have they founded morality on the former principles rather than the latter? It is because they found that the former were of general advantage to society, and to the others fatal to it. These philosophers have perceived the necessity of morality, they have conceived what it ought to be, but have not discovered its leading and fundamental principle. The very sentiments indeed, which they adopt as the ground-work of morality, because they appear to be serviceable to the common good, if left to themselves would be very prejudicial to it. How can we determine to punish the guilty if we listen only to the pleas of compassion? How shall we guard against partiality, if we consult only the dictates of friendship? How shall we avoid being favourable to idleness, if we attend only to the sentiments of benevolence? All these virtues have their limits, beyond which they degenerate into vices; and those limits are settled by the invariable rules of essential justice; or, which is the same thing, by the common interests of men united together in society and the constant object of that union.

THESE



THESE limits, it is true, have not yet been B O O K  
ascertained; nor indeed could they, since it has XIX.  
not been possible to fix what the common interest  
itself was. And this is the reason why among all  
people, and at all times, men have formed such  
different ideas of virtue and vice: why hitherto,  
morality has appeared to be but a matter of mere  
convention among men. That so many ages  
should have passed away in an entire ignorance of  
the first principles of a science so important to our  
happiness is a certain fact; but so extraordinary  
that it should appear incredible. We cannot ima-  
gine how it has not been sooner discovered, that  
the uniting of men in society has not, and indeed  
could not have any other design, but the general  
happiness of individuals; and therefore that there  
is not, and cannot be any other social tie between  
them, than that of their common interest: and  
that nothing can be consistent with the order of  
societies, unless it be consistent with the common  
utility of the members that compose them: that it  
is this principle which necessarily determines virtue  
and vice; and that our actions are consequently  
more or less virtuous, according as they tend more  
or less to the common advantage of society; that  
they are more or less vicious, according as the pre-  
judice society receives from them is greater or  
less.

Is it on its own account that valour is ranked  
among the number of virtues? No, it is on ac-  
count of the service it is of to society. This is

B O O K evident from hence, that it is punished as a crime  
 XIX. in a man whom it causes to disturb the public  
 peace. Why then is drunkenness a vice? Because every man is bound to contribute to the common good, and to fulfill that obligation, he has occasion for the free exercise of his faculties. Why are certain actions more blameable in a magistrate or general, than in a private man? Because greater inconvenience result from them to society.

As society ought to be beneficial to every one of its members; it is but just that each of its members should contribute to the advantage of society. To be virtuous therefore, is to be useful: to be vicious, is to be useless or hurtful. This is morality.

THIS, indeed, is universal morality—that morality which being connected with the nature of man, is connected with the nature of society; that morality which can vary only in its applications, but never in its essence: that morality, in short, to which all laws should refer, and to which they should be subordinate. In conformity to this common rule of all our private and public actions; let us consider whether there ever were, or ever can be good morals in Europe.

SINCE the invasion of the barbarous nations into this quarter of the globe, almost all governments have been established only on the interest of a single man, or a single set of men, to the prejudice of the whole society. As they were founded on conquest, the effect of superior power, they  
 have

have only varied in the mode of keeping the people in subjection. At first war made victims of them, devoted either to the sword of their rulers, or that of the enemy. How many ages have passed away in scenes of blood and general massacre, that is to say, in the distribution of empires, before terms of peace had induced the people to suppose that there was something of a divine origin in that state of intestine war called society or government!

WHEN the feudal government had for ever excluded those who tilled the ground from the right of possessing it: when, by a sacrilegious collusion between the altar and the throne, the authority of God had been enforced by that of the sword, what effect had the morality of the gospel, but to authorize tyranny by the doctrine of passive obedience, but to confirm slavery by a contempt of all science and private property; in a word to add to the terror of the great that of evil spirits? And what were morals with such laws? What they are at present in Poland, where the people, being without lands, and without arms, are left to be massacred by the Russians or enlisted by the Prussians, and having neither courage nor sentiment, think it is sufficient if they are christians, and remain neuter between their neighbours and their lords palatine.

To a similar state of anarchy wherein morals had no distinguishing character, nor any degree of stability, succeeded the epidemic fury of holy



BOOK wars, by which nations were corrupted and degraded, by communicating the contagion of vices with that of fanaticism. Morals were changed with the change of climate. All the passions were inflamed and heightened between the tombs of Jesus and Mohanmed. From Palestine was imported a principle of luxury and pride, a strong taste for the spices of the east, a romantic spirit which civilized the nobles of all countries without making the people more happy or more virtuous; for if there is no happiness without virtue; virtue will never support itself without being founded on happiness.

ABOUT two centuries after Europe had been depopulated by Asiatic expeditions, its transmigration in America happened. That revolution introduced an universal confusion, and blended the vices and productions of every climate with our own. Neither was any improvement made in the science of morality, because men were then destroyed through avarice, instead of being sacrificed on account of religion. Those nations which had made the largest acquisitions in the new world, seemed to acquire at the same time all the stupidity, ferociousness, and ignorance of the old. They became the means of communicating the vices and diseases of those countries; poor and wretched amidst all their gold; debauched, notwithstanding their churches and their priests; idle and superstitious with all the sources of commerce, and the means

means of being enlightened. But the love of riches likewise corrupted all other nations.

B O O K  
XIX.

WHETHER it be war or commerce that introduces great riches into a state, they soon become the object of public ambition. At first men of the greatest power seize upon them: and as riches come into the hands of those who have the management of public affairs, wealth is confounded with honour in the minds of the people: and the virtuous citizen, who aspired to employments only for the sake of glory, aspires without knowing it, to honour for the sake of advantage. Neither lands nor treasure, any more than conquests, are obtained with any other view but to enjoy them; and riches are enjoyed only for pleasure and the ostentation of luxury. Under these different ideas, they equally corrupt the citizen who possesses them, and the people who are seduced by their attraction. As soon as men labour only from a motive of gain, and not from a regard to their duty, the most advantageous situations are preferred to the most honourable. It is then we see the honour of a profession diverted, obscured, and lost in the paths that lead to wealth.

To the advantage of that false consideration at which riches arrive, are to be added the natural conveniences of opulence, a fresh sort of corruption. The man who is in a public situation is desirous of having people about him: the honours he receives in public are not sufficient for him; he wants admirers, either of his talents, his luxury,  
or

B O O K or his profusion. If riches are the means of corruption by leading to honours, how much more are they so by diffusing a taste for pleasure? Misery offers its chastity to sale, and idleness its liberty; the prince sets the magistracy up to sale, and the magistrates set a price upon justice: the court sells employments, and placemen sell the people to the prince, who sells them again to the neighbouring powers either in treaties of war, or subsidy; of peace, or exchange of territory.

SUCH is the sordid traffic introduced by the love of riches in any country where they can do every thing, and where virtue is held in no estimation. But there is no effect without its causes. Gold does not become the idol of the people, and virtue does not fall into contempt, unless the bad constitution of the government occasion such a corruption. Unfortunately, it will always have this effect, if the government is so constituted that the temporary interest of a single person, or of a small number, can with impunity prevail over the common and invariable interest of the whole. It will always produce this corruption, if those, in whose hands authority is lodged, can make an arbitrary use of it, can place themselves above the reach of all rules of justice, can make their power administer to plundering, and their plunder to the continuance of abuses occasioned by their power. Good laws are maintained by good morals; but good morals are established by good laws: men are what government makes them. To modify them,



them, it is always armed with an irresistible force, B O O K  
 that of public opinion: and the government will XIX.  
 always make use of corruption, when by its nature  
 it is itself corrupt. In a word, the nations of Eu-  
 rope will have good morals when they have good  
 governments. Let us conclude.

NATIONS, I have discoursed to you on your  
 dearest interests. I have placed before your eyes  
 the benefits of nature, and the fruits of industry.  
 As ye are too frequently the occasion of your mu-  
 tual unhappiness, you must have felt how the jea-  
 lousy of avarice, how pride and ambition remove  
 far from your common weal the happiness that  
 presents itself to you by peace and commerce. I  
 have recalled that happiness which has been re-  
 moved from you. The sentiments of my heart  
 have been warmly expressed in favour of all man-  
 kind without distinction of sect or country. Men  
 are all equal in my sight, by the reciprocal relation  
 of the same wants and the same calamities: as they  
 are all equal in the eyes of the supreme being  
 through the relation between their weakness and  
 his power.

I AM aware that subject as ye are to rulers, your  
 condition depends upon them, and to speak of  
 your evils was to reproach them with their errors  
 or their crimes. This reflection has not prevented  
 me from exerting my endeavours. I never con-  
 ceived that the sacred respect due to humanity  
 could possibly be irreconcilable with that which  
 is due to those who should be its natural protectors.

I have

BOOK I have been transported in idea into the councils  
 XIX. of the governing powers of the world. I have  
 spoken without disguise, and without fear, and  
 have no reason to accuse myself of having betrayed  
 the honourable cause I dared to plead. I have in-  
 formed princes of their duties, and of the rights  
 of the people. I have traced to them the fatal ef-  
 fects of that inhuman power which is guilty of op-  
 pression; and of that whose indolence and weak-  
 ness suffers it. I have sketched all around them  
 portraits of your misfortunes, and they cannot but  
 have been sensibly affected by them. I have warned  
 them that if they turned their eyes away, those  
 true but dreadful pictures would be engraven on  
 the marble of their tombs, and accuse their ashes  
 while posterity trampled on them.

BUT talents are not always equal to our zeal. Undoubtedly I have stood in need of a greater share of that penetration which discovers expedients, and of that eloquence which enforces truth. Sometimes, perhaps, the sentiments of my heart have contributed to raise my genius: but most frequently I have perceived myself overwhelmed with my subject, and conscious of my own inability.

MAY writers on whom nature has bestowed greater abilities, complete by their original works what my essays have begun. Under the auspices of philosophy may there be one day extended from one extremity of the world to the other, that chain of union and benevolence which ought to connect

all civilized people! May they never more carry B O O K  
among savage nations the example of vice and op- XIX.  
pression! I do not flatter myself that, at the period  
of that happy revolution, my name will be still in  
remembrance. This feeble work, which will have  
only the merit of having brought forth others bet-  
ter than itself, will, doubtless, be forgotten. But  
I shall, at least, be able to say, that I have con-  
tributed, as much as was in my power, to the  
happiness of my fellow-creatures, and pointed out  
the way, though at a distance, to improve their  
condition. This agreeable thought will stand me  
in the stead of glory. It will be the delight of  
my old age, and the consolation of my latest mo-  
ments.

T H E E N D.











# I N D E X.

## A.

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